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Interest Mistaken;

OR, THE

HOLY CHEAT:

PROVING

From the undeniable Practises & Positions of the *Presbyterians*, that the Design of that Party is to enslave both King and People under the Masque of RELIGION.

By way of Observation upon a Treatise, INTITULED, *The Interest of* England *in the Matter of*

RELIGION, &c.

By ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

The Fourth Impression.

Aug. de Civ. Dei.

Nullo modo his artibus placatur Divina Majestas, quibus Humana Dignitas inquinatur.

LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the *Gun* in *Ivy-lane*, 1664.

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14 Jan. 63 Rostenberg

To the Honourable

HOUSE of COMMONS

Assembled in

PARLIAMENT.

Most Honourable,

TO beg your Pardon or Protection, were to suppose a Fault or Hazzard; but in this Dedication finding neither, I shall waive that Formality: humbly submitting what I have to say, my Reasons, and my Self, to your Authority, and Wisdom, without more Prologue or Apology.

There is a Faction which, under the note of Presbyterian, seems much concerned to stickle against Bishops and Church-rites, on the behalf of Tender Consciences. Their Writings and Opinions, are with

great Freedom, Craft, & Diligence, *dispers'd throughout the Nation*; *to the great Scandal of the true Church, & the Encouragement of those of the Revolt. But this is yet the least part of the* Mischief, *or in effect of their* Design: *Their Aym being to Tumultuate the people, and make a party against the civil Power. Indeed their Pamphlets wear the face of* Church-disputes *and* Models; *but he that reads them through, and marks them narrowly, shall find the King's* Authority *the Question.*

That the late War against the King was Lawful; *is a* Position *common to them all, and this they publickly maintain, as the main* Basis *of the Cause. By which assertion, they cast the* Blood & Guilt *upon His* Majesty; *make his* Adherents Traitors: *place the* Supreme Authority *in the* Two Houses: *subject the* Law *to an* Ordinance: *the* Government, *to a* Faction: *and animate the* Schismaticks *to serve His* Majesty *in being, as they did His* Father.

thers. This is the drift of their seditious Libels, and of their Projects too: if any judgement may be made upon their strict conformity of Argument, and Method, to those that first embroil'd us.

How far this matter may require your Care, becomes not me to meddle: I thought it might be worth your Honours Knowledge, and led by an opinion of my Duty, this state of the Affair (such as it is) I do most humbly lay before you.

His Majesty had no sooner set Foot upon English ground, but swarms of pestilent papers were in a Readiness to entertain him. Some of the sharpest of them, I delivered to several Members of that Session, with the Stationers name for whom they were printed, (Smith, at the Bible in Cornhil, Crofton's Agent) but all too little to suppress them. One passage is this that Follows; speaking of the limited power of Kings ——

Douglas his Coronation Sermon, Pag. 10.

This may serve to justifie the proceedings of this Kingdom against the late King, who in a Hostile way set himselfe to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws, and Liberties.

Hand in hand with this Pamphlet, came forth Sanctorymnus, Revived, and recommended by Mr. Manton: and since that time some Hundreds more of the same stamp; whose common business it is, by affronting of the Law, and Flattering of the Rabble, to cast all back into Confusion. Among the many other Actors of Religion, I find not any man plays his part better than the Author of that Treatise which hath extorted This: which indeed, abuses the People in very good terms.

Some hasty Observations *I have pass'd upon him in favour of the easie, and deceivable Vulgar;* which Frailties *I submit to your*

your Honours Charity; *but the main* Equitie *of the Cause, I hope, will stand the test of your severest* Justice: *for doubtlesse much is due to the late Kings* Honour, *as well as to his* Blood.

And somewhat (with submission to your Wisdoms) may be allow'd to his Party: *at least sufficient to protest them from Popular contempt, and the infamous lash of every daring Libel.*

I dare not trust my self further with my own thoughts, and yet I take them to be such as very well consist with the Duty of

Your Honors most Obedient

and humble Servant,

Roger L'estrange.

TO THE GOOD PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

THE *Common good* is the Common pretence of all ſeditious Combinations: and it is no new thing for a *crafty Faction* to impoſe upon a ſimple *Multitude*, empty *Appearances* for *Truths* and *Reaſon*. But our Reformers ſcorn to ſtop at this dull, general method of Confuſion. The Law of *God* muſt be ſubjected as well as that of the *Nation*; we muſt call *Treaſon Loyalty*, and commit *Murther* as a point of *Conſcience*.

No leſs then this is hinted in the Presby-

Presbyterians Justification of the *Scotish League* and *Quarrel*: nor have they any other aim, than by procuring an Allowance of *That War*, to make way to *Another*. To this end, they dispense their poysonous Infusions into all Quarters of the Kingdom, under those very Forms of *Piety*, and *Tenderness*, by which they first betrayed us: and by those very meanes do they now prosecute afresh their first intentions. That is, they labour to promote the Cause by scandalous and rank *Invectives*, against the *Church*, and stirring up of *Tumults* to *Reform* it: by a loud Pharisaical *Ostentation* of their own *Holinesse* and a sour churlish Censure of all *Others*: by sharp and sawcy *Aspersions* upon the *Royal Party*, and by Reflections yet more bitter and Audacious, upon his Sacred *Majesty*, and his *Murther'd Father*.

To see these Libels pass with Free-

dom,

dom, and Impunite, as if they were *Authorized*: and to observe what foul Mistakes are grounded upon these gross Allowances, to the Kings Disadvantage, and all without Controll or Confutation. *This*, and no other Reason, (so God bless me), that is, of private *Passion*, or *Animosity* of temper) hath drawn this honest Folly from me. I reckon it my *Duty* to my *Prince* and *Countrey*, to my own *Honour*, and to the *Oath* I have taken, *Where ever I find a publique Enemy to discover him*: And being thus Commissioned both by *Authority* and *Conscience*, I proceed.

The *Benefit* of this Treatise is directed to the *People*; and the *Design* of it, is onely to lay open the *Presbyterian Jugle*, that in one Age they be not twice deluded by the same Imposture. My *Arguments* are Drawn from their owne *Practises* and *Positions*; from *Presidents* of Former times, (*Cartwright*, and

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his

his *Disciples*) from what hath passed within our own *Experience*, from what these very men have *done*, and from the very Logick of their own *Writings*, what they profess, they do *intend* to do.

As the *Delusion* is apparent, so is the *Malice* of *Disturbing* it.

Can it be thought, that by the *Act* of *Pardon*, his Majesty ever meant to subject all the *Sober* and *Legal Interests* of the *Nation*, to be worried by a *Faction*? Who in the *Royal Party* charges them? Or, if they did, What has the *Law* done to offend them? Or, say the *Law* be sharp against them, his *Majesty's unparallel'd Mercy* has by his Royal Grace taken off the edge of it, hazzarding Himself to preserve these unthankful People, which are now practising upon that Authority, that saved them.

And I beseech you, what is the goodly Subject of the Controversie? The

Presbyterian

Presbyterian Discipline forsooth; and *Ceremonies* of *Mystical* and *Humane Institution*.

Touching the *Former*, St. *Augustine* tells us, that *Aerius* turn'd *Heretick* upon the miss of a *Bishoprick*, (the first assertor of *Church-Parity*) I am afraid some of our Reverend Clergy are sick of his disease, for their design is not so much to convert *Bishops* into *Presbyters*, as to make every *Presbyter* a *Bishop*.

And then for *Ceremonies*; they teaz and chafe the *Common people* into a pettish scruple, that would be well and quiet enough without them. They make their *Consciences* like *skittish Jades*, that boggle at their own shadows, and start into a *precipice* to avoid a *Feather*.

They tell us too of *Number*, and press their importunities in the Name *of many thousands of the good people of the Nation*; so did the *King*'s insolent *Judges*, and with as much truth the *one* as the *other*.

Let

Let it be further noted, that in this case, the *Factious* and *Schismatical Clergy* are but (with reverence) *Bawds* to a *State-faction*. A *Tumult* for *Religion*, is within one step of *Rebellion*.

Nor do they only shape their loose *Opinions* to their lewd purposes, but by all secrets *arts* and *practises*, they form their Parties. But here I am confin'd—

All I design is only a fit Caution to all *Well-meaning Subjects*, not to believe their *Eares* against their *Reason*. If they can adde one Syllable of *Weight*, to what they have already *Promised*, and *Broken*; I'le give my self up to the Partie.

This is not yet to cast a general Blot upon all persons of that Judgement, nor to excite any unquiet thoughts toward the rest: but onely to present a *Modest*, and an *Usefull* warning to the people.

So far am I from a desire to move a-

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ny distemper, that I do positively affirm, Should the King (which is impossible) pick out of all his Subjects those very persons, who upon twenty years experience, have proved through all extremities how much they love his *Cause* and *Person*, above their *Lives* and *Fortunes*: should, I say, these be pick'd out by his Majestie, and marqu'd for Slaves to those that with an equal *Zeal* and *Steadinesse* have opposed him; Our Duty were the same yet.

Severity *and* Kindness *may move us as* Men, *but not as* Subjects: Obedience *to* Kings *being a* Divine precept, *and not subjected to those Accidents which work upon our Passions.*

Nor shall this sense of my owne Clearness betray me yet to a surprize; for I fore-see a thousand mischiefs may befall me: and, all which either private Malice, or open and bold Prejudice, can cast upon me; I am provided for.

for. To those of the *Presbyterian* perswasion that truly love the King, I bear a more than Ordinary Respect, because it is a more than Ordinary Virtue; and for the rest, I care not.

I am not now to learn the temper of the *Rigid Presbyterians*. They did me once the Honour to *Condemn* me, almost at *Mid-night*, by a *pack'd Committee*, and without a *Hearing*; well-nigh four years they kept me in *New-gate* upon that Account. This was a pretty taste of their good Nature. I do not now Complain; but I Confess, it would have pleas'd me as well if the *Bishop* that Christens still by the *Directory*, had chosen some other *Chancellour*, instead of my *Judge Advocate*: —— But I desire onely to make a sober use of these Mistakes; The King knows nothing of them.

God *preserve* his *Majesty*, *convert* his *Enemies*, and *comfort* his *Friends*. *Farewell.*

THE

THE

HOLY CHEAT:

PROVING,

From the undeniable Practices and Positions of the *Presbyterians*, that the Design of that Partie is to enslave both King and People, under the Masque of

RELIGION, &c.

IF the Author of the *Interest of England*, &c. had meant fairly to the Question, he would as well have told us the *Good* of *Bishops*, and the *Ill* of *Presbyters*, as he hath done the contrary, and never have concluded For, or Against Either, from the Best Actions of the One, and the Worst of the Other. At least, a man would think this partiality of Method, might content him without the further service of those little Arts he uses, to aid, and recommend his Undertaking.

The Present state of things, he represents quite other then it is: and raises thence a Political Expedience of doing This, or That,---of Linking Interests,---never considering, that he Himself Creates that Interest, and gives Af-

fairs the Face of that expedience. *Page the 16.* he laies his ground-work, In these following words.

J.C. *Among the various dis-agreeing Parties within this Kingdom, which seem to render it an undigested Mass of People; two main ones appear above the rest, of so large an Interest, that if by any means they might become no more twain, but one; their weight would take in, and carry along the whole stream and strength of the Nation. And these two are the* Episcopal *and* Presbyterian *Parties, each of them highly laying claim to the Protestant Religion. And undoubtedly whilest these two remain divided, the Kingdom of* England, *and the Protestant Religion is divided against it self. This dis-union is removed, either by the Abolition of one Party, or by the Coalition of both into one. The former, if supposed possible, cannot be accomplished, but by violent and perilous waies and means. The latter is brought to pass by Accommodation, or Mutual yielding. Moreover, there is a third way imaginable, Toleration indulged to the weaker side. In which of these ways lies the true interest of the King and Kingdom, is the great Case of the time, and the Subject of this Discourse, which presumes not to inform his Majesty, but in subordination unto his declared Moderation and Condescension, endeavours by shewing things as they are, to convince and perswade Interessed persons, That the Pacification begun for this* Interim *may be entire and perfect, and fully setled for perpetual unity.*

Let

Let it be here observed, *First*, what the *Difference* is; *Next*, betwixt *whom*; In the *Third* place, the *Danger* of it; And *Lastly*, the *Expedient* to remove it. *Observati-on.*

It seems, the *Episcopal*, and *Presbyterian* Parties, United in *Religion*, cannot Agree yet about *Discipline*: and *while these two remain Divided*, the Publick is in danger. From hence results the *Interest* of *mutual Yielding*——— (his *Coalition of both Parties into One*). Upon which Hinge moves the whole frame of his Design; and in two Pages, he gives the Presbyter possession of his Claim, Deciding with exceeding ease, *The Case of King and Kingdom.*

Opinion is a great Mistress: for that which He so Magisterially Lays down and Challenges, appears to me mis-stated, and worse Managed. I must confess, his Reduction of all other *Interests* under *Episcopal* and *Presbyterian*, is, in some sense, no ill *Dichotomy*, that is, intended of the two main Parties, whereof the One's against the Law, the Other for it: But why the single Presbyterian should be esteemed the Ballance of the Nation, I cannot comprehend. If they are so, they should do well to cast their cause upon a Popular Vote, and try the Issue by the Poll.

For Quiet sake, no matter, *Many* or *Few*, there may be *Equity* where there wants *Number*. We'l rather see in poynt of Right what 'tis they insist upon: *Which, if exemption from Episcopal Authority, in things Indifferent, and of Humane Institution.* We must plead *judgement*

of Discretion too, as well as They: A Freedom, and Capacity to distinguish betwixt a *Scandal Given* and *Taken*; betwixt a Dis-conformity proceeding from Conscience, and from Passion; Where the Dissent proceeds from Conscience, a *Toleration* clears that Scruple: but our good peoples Liberty consists in Burthening Others, as well as Freeing Themselves, and that's *Intolerable*.

How many strange Indecencies are here, one upon the neck of another! First, here's the *Minor* part imposing upon the *Major*: Secondly, a *Novel*, and *Vulgar Imagination*, bearing down an *Apostolical Institution*: Thirdly, a *Private Opinion*, contesting with a *Solemn*, and *Publick Sanction*: and Finally, the Subject of all this Earnestness, in their own phrase, is but a very *Accommodable difference*. From what I have said, I am perswaded, that *Severity* to the *Pertinacious Presbyter*, is the true interest of this Nation, allowing yet *Indulgence* to the *Conscientious*.

Well, but our Author tells us, that *Abolition if possible, is perillous*, and *Toleration* onely an *Imaginary* Remedy. Is not this to intimate that the Party makes less Conscience of a Tumult, than of a Ceremony: and to argue the necessity of Complying, from the danger of Refusing? What would these people do if they had Power, that are so Bold without it! and yet our Politician makes it the Kings Interest to Close with them. He means perchance, *According to the Covenant*; The *Coalition*, There, of all Schisms, and Heresies into One Interest, was

of

of great Reason, and Important Service to the Commune work: but we are now advising how to *Settle* not to *Disjoynt* a Government, and to Incorporate Dis-agreements, were to begin upon a Principle of Confusion. As the Case stands with us, in my weak Judgement, *Persons* should rather be Indulg'd, than *Parties*. My Reason is this, Some *Individuals* of that Perswasion, have done His Majesty some Service, but (to the best of my Remembrance) the *Entire Party*, never any.

Yet one Reflexion more. Allow these People all their Askings, in what concerns their *Disciplina*, will they rest Quiet There, without a further Hankering after more? (the *Legislative Power* perhaps; the *Militia*; ——— or some such trifle) I am the more suspicious, because I do not well remember, where ever That Party was satisfied with less than All. Nor need I look far back for Instances to justifie my Fears; But having in some measure hitherto Discovered his Foundation, we'l forward now, and see what work he makes upon this Sandy Bottom, taking his Title-page in my way, for, to my thinking, he stumbles at the Threshold.—— It runs thus.

The *Interest* of *England*
In the Matter of
RELIGION;
unfolded in the Solution of these three
QUESTIONS.

I. Qu. *Whether the* Presbyterian *Party should in Justice or Reason of State be Rejected and Depressed, or Protected and Encouraged.*

II. Qu. *Whether the* Presbyterian *Party may be Protected and Encouraged, and the* Episcopal *not Deserted nor Disobliged.*

III. Qu. *Whether the upholding of both Parties by a just and equal Accommodation, be not in it self more desirable and more agreeable to the State of* England, *Then the absolute Exalting of the one Party, and the total Subversion of the other.*

Written by *J. C.*

Observation. I would fain know, What is meant by, *The Matter of Religion*, as it stands here related to *Civil Interest? Doctrine* it cannot be, for that were to advise a yielding upon a Principle of Policy, in Opposition to a Rule of Conscience: subjecting *Interest of Religion*, which is *Eternal Happiness*, to *Reason of State*, which regards but *Temporal Convenience*. If it be *Discipline*, What's that to the *Interest of England*? Our Settlement depends upon a due Obedience to the Establish'd Law; not the Encouraging of froward Humors, by an Audacious and Mis-govern'd Zeal, under pretext of *Conscience* to affront it. Let Authority Reform, and Pri-

Private Persons either Obey, or suffer; we are to answer for our *own* faults, not those of the *Government*. And in fine, *If the Hill will not come to* Mahomet, *let* Mahomet *go to the Hill.*

After a pleasant *Breviate* of the Story of our late Troubles, (handsomely Penn'd indeed) in his tenth Page he takes his Biass.

At length (saies he) *a full Tide of Concurring Accidents carries him* (the Duke of *Albemarle*, then General) *to a closure with the sober part of the Parliamentary Party, who from first to last intended onely a Reformation, and the Regulation of things in Church and State, but abhorred the thought of destroying the King: or changing the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.* Page 10.

I thought *the Act of* Pardon *and* Oblivion had quieted all Animosities, and silenc'd all Discourses of this Quality; but 'tis, it seems, *The Interest of* England *in the matter of Religion*, to keep the Quarrel waking; and, by Asserting the Proceedings of the two Houses in the late War, to engage this King within the danger of his Fathers President. To be as free with the Author, as he is with his Majesty, I'le put his meaning in a little plainer English. *Observation.*

Beside the Grand Division of the Nation into a *Royal* and a *Popular* Party, that Party which he here calls *Parliamentary*, is again *Split*; and under this Subdivision are Comprised, those which did Actually destroy the King, and those which, by good Fortune, did it not. (*Presbyterians* and *Independants*) The *Sober part*, (meaning the *Presbyterians*) He justifies

from first to last, even to their very *Intentions*. (I must tread warily, for I am here upon a narrow and a slippery path.)

Nor to Dispute the Gentleman's *Intuitive Knowledge*; we'l rather modestly believe that They mistook their way, than He, their meaning; for certainly, the *Murther* of the King, was not the onely Unlawful violence Acted upon that Sacred Person; and he that stops there, does as much as nothing. I would not touch upon this Subject, were I not bound by Oath, and Duty, to discharge my Soul, in what concerns the Honour, and the Safety of my Prince.

Can the *first Cause asserted by both Houses*, in opposition to his late Majesty, be *justifi'd* and not the King *condemn'd*? And is not the *Honor* and *Safety* of his Majesty that now is, concern'd in these *Indignities* upon his Murther'd Father? What was Then lawful, is so still: and he that but implicitly charges the last King, strikes at This. The Text will bear no other sense without a Torture. But I shall by-and-by, compare him with himself. In the mean while, we may explain one Presbyterian by another. *Douglas*, in 1651. preach'd the Kings *Coronation-Sermon*. Which since his Majesties Return, is over and over again Reprinted.

Douglas. *A King* (says he) *abusing his Power, to the overthrow of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which are the very fundamentals of this Contract and Covenant, may be controlled and opposed; and if he set himself to overthrow all these by Armes, then they who have power, as the Estates of a Land, may and ought to resist by Arms; Because he doth, by*

that

that opposition, break the very Bonds, and overthroweth all the Essentials of this Contract and Covenant. This may serve to Justifie the proceedings of this Kingdome against the Late King, who in an hostile way set himself to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws and Liberties.

I think this needs no Comment.—— About the same time, *SmeGymnus was revived* by Mr. *Manton*, (a most auspicious welcome doubtless to his Majesty) wherein five Champions of the Cause take up the Cudgels against one Bishop, on the behalf of scandalous Pamphlets and Tumultuary Petitions against Episcopacy. This is the naked Truth, what ever the Jolly Priest may tell the *Reader*, of the * *Faction against which they deale. Five Orthodox Divines*, he says, were the Authors. *Four* of the *Five* I shall not mention, the *Fifth* was *Marshal*, of whole *Divinity*, a Taste; that by the sweet Agreement, we may the better judge of Mr. *Manton's*. In a *Letter printed* 1643, arguing for the Authority of the two Houses, *page* 14. Thus.

* *Epistle to the Reader.*

Let every soul in England *be subject to King and Parliament, for they are the higher Powers ordained unto you of God; whosoever therefore resisteth King and Parliament, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* Marshall.

The man was no Conjurer, yet he had wit enough, when *Presbytery* went down, to Court the rising Interest; and *though the Common-prayer was an Abomination*, to marry his Daughter by it, for

for fear of After-claps. But I suppose 'twas huddl'd up, as 'tis in Mr. *Manton's* Church, that no man might be able to make Oath 'twas not the *Directory*. If the Case had been concerning *the Allowance of Christian Burial to a Gentleman that was Quartered for his Loyalty. Or to determine in the great Point of the late Kings Death, (upon the Anniversary Fast) whether or no 'twas Murther*: Truly considering *the potent Arguments brought on both sides*, 'tis possible Mr. *Marshal* would have contented himself (as well as his Neighbours) barely to put the Case and leave the point at last undecided to his Auditory.

Not to spend time, and paper needlessly, The whole stream of the *Disciplinarians* runs this way; only perhaps more or less Bold, and Open, according to the present strength, or weakness of the Faction.

But to return: Can any thing be more gentle, then A Reformation, and due Regulation of things in Church and State? (*words smoother then Oyle, yet are they very Swords.*)

First, To *Reform*, and *Regulate*, belongs to the Supreme Magistrate; if they intended *That*, they were to blame. Now to take it in a Qualified and softer sense; 'twas a Due Regulation they intended. To put this General notion in more Intelligible terms; upon this point depends no less then all that's dear to every honest man. The *Dignity of the King*, the *Liberty of the Subject*, the *Freedome of Parliaments*, and the *Honor of the Nation*. God knows my thoughts, I do not envy any man, either the

Benefit

Benefit of his Majesty's *Mercy*, or the Blessing of his *Favour*, that hath the Grace at last not to Abuse it. I look upon his Royal Act of Pardon with Reverence; and upon every Soul within that pale as in a Sanctuary. But yet I do not understand a *Pardon* for one Rebellion, to be a *Dispensation* for another; nor how the Argument lies from Fact to Right, under these two words, *Due Regulation*; Thus much is comprehended, (waiving lesse Differences and Greater.)

Presbyterian Regulation.

1. *The transferring of the Power of chusing Great Officers, and Ministers of State; from the King to the Two Houses.*

2. *All matters of State in the Interval of Parliaments must be Debated, and Concluded by a Counsel so chosen, and in number not above twenty five, nor under fifteen; and no Publick Act esteemed of any Validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unless it be done by the Advice and Consent of the Major part of that Counsel, Attested under their Hands. And These too, sworn to the Sense of Both Houses.*

3. *The Lords and Commons must be intrusted with the Militia.*

4. *His Majesty may appoint, but the Two Houses, or the Counsel (in such manner as aforesaid) must Approve of All Governors of Forts, and Castles.*

Lastly,

Lastly, *No Peers hereafter made, must Sit, or Vote in Parliament, unless Admitted thereunto by the Consent of Both Houses.*

Exact Collections, pag. 310.

Upon these Terms; *his Majesty shall be (supported, in Honor, and plenty; by his most Humble and faithful Subjects, who have in their Thoughts and Desires nothing more precious, (next to the Honor and immediate Service of God) than their just, and faithful performance of their Duty to the King, and Kingdom.*

This is the Due Regulation *they intended*; (for sure they *Meant* what they *Proposed*, to our Late Soveraign). I speak not this of *Persons*, but of the Grosse of the Party; nor to reproach That neither, but to remove a *Scandal* from the Ashes of that Blessed *Martyr*, and to direct a *Reverence* towards his Successor. What provocation have these restless People, now to revive This Question: but an unruly Impotency of Passion against the Government? This is their way. In *Generals* they justifie from first to last, the Presbyterians Cause. The multitude, they look into *Particulars:* and from those Injuries which the late King suffered, draw Inferences Dis-honourable, and Dangerous to this.

In the next Periode, me-thinks he falls upon a *Non-sequitur*.

Page. 10. *The Re-admission of the Secluded Members*, (he says) *did necessarily draw after it, the Re-*

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storing of King, Lords, and Commons, according to the ancient Constitution.

Not *Necessarily* (under favour) *according to the antient Constitution*: (I will not say not probably: but) there were *two shrewd Blocks cast in the way.* The First, in the *Militia*; where no Commissionated Officer was to Act, that should not first acknowledge in these words, *viz.*

Observation.

I do Acknowledge and Declare, that the War undertaken by both Houses of Parliament in their defence against the Forces raised in the Name of the late King, was Just and Lawful; and that Magistracy and Ministery, are the Ordinances of God.

The Second, was in the Exclusion of the Royal Party from the next choice, as followeth.

Resolved, that all and every Person who have advised, or voluntarily aided, abetted, or assisted, in any War against the Parliament (since the first day of January 1641.) *his or their sons, unless he or they have since Manifested their good affections to this Parliament, shall be uncapable to be elected to serve as members of the next Parliament.*

Now, how a Choice thus limited in the House, and Principled in the Field, should *Necessarily* set us right, does not to me appear?

Perhaps it was the most the Time would bear: but God forbid, *That Declaration charging the Guilt, and Blood of the late War upon the King,* should stand upon Record to future Generations. Who ever affirms That War

War was lawful, does beyond Question mediate Another; not to say more than needs, It blasts the Memory of the late King, and upon the King that now is, it reflects many Mischiefs, subjecting both his Dignity and Person, to his Fathers hazards. It administers Argument for a New War; and shakes the very Foundation of Royalty. Grant That, the Act of Oblivion is on the wrong side; if the King was in Fault, the Presbyterians must Grant the Pardon. From the clear reason of the matter in it self, and from the obvious Consequences; beside that Justice which both King and People owe to the Ashes of a Father and a Soveraign, It seems to me of high Concern, to Counter-State that Declaration, and *place the Militia of this Nation now in such hands, as will acknowledge the late Kings Quarrel was Defensive.* I am the bolder in this Particular, because I find the Faction pressing beyond both Modesty and Reason, upon this Bottom.

Where Majesty it self is Affronted, it were a second Injury to allow the Servant better Quarter than the Master. But they are very Exact and Careful in this Particular: as will appear in what follows.

Pag. 12. *After a dreadful Earthquake, shaking all the Powers of the Kingdom, and over-turning the very Foundations, and after a new frame of things erected standing for divers years, and seeming by stated for perpetuity, the Regal Family and Government is raised up again, not by the power or policy of that Party, who fought under the Banner of his late*

late Majesty in the Wars, between him and both Houses of Parliament; But by the restless desire of the Nation, and the vigorous actings of the City of London, *with the concurrence of the Secluded Members of the long Parliament, in conjunction with that Renowned Person, who then held the power of the Sword.*

Let it be noted here, that (by His Confession) *the War was between the King and both Houses of Parliament.* Now *to that Party who fought under the Banner of his late Majesty.* (Whom he might have spared for the General's sake.) *Observation.*

Truly, considering what havock hath been made of them, by *Slaughters, Extrajudicial Sentences, Plunders, Sequestrations, Imprisonments, Banishments; shipping them away into Plantations, &c.* —— And this for twenty years continuance; 'Tis no great wonder to find some Abatement of their power. But to affirm that they contributed nothing to his Majesties Restauration, is very unkind, and something rash. The *Nation* did, (he says) the *City of London*, and the *Secluded Members* of the *Long Parliament*; but not *That Party.* (A pleasant and phantastical Dis-junction.) This way of barely Affirming, and Denying; Crying One Party Up, and the Other Down, and proving nothing, is neither Mannerly, nor Prudent. How comes this man of *Metaphysical Inspection*, that reads the very *Thoughts* of the *Presbyterians*, and seems so well enformed in all the *Actings* of the *Royal Party*: How comes he by this wondrous Insight and Intelligence? Does he not find, that all he says is nothing, unless

unless he can *see things Invisible, and prove Negatives?* Is This the Work of the Spirit of *Pacification?* or will he tell us, in the holy Dialect, that *'tis the Enmity between the Seed of the Woman, and the Seed of the Serpent?*

So far were *We*, (for I write my self of that Party) from this Unfriendly and Unchristian Temper of Dis-uniting, that we Declared unanimously against it, binding our selves by all that's Sacred, to an Eternal Union with all Parties, in order to the Restauration of His Majesty, all Differences apart; of what Degree or Quality soever. In this we had an eye to the King's Interest, and to the Nation's; for it Referred both to his Majesty's Return, and to a Lasting Peace; the Former being Facilitated by that Conjunction of *Interests*; and the Latter, provided for by a Conciliation of *Affections*, to be wrought by suppressing all *Motions* toward *Revenge* in the *One* Party, and the *Fears* of it in the *Other*. It had been good Manners to have met us half way; but truly high Discretion, as well as Common Equity, to Close with us, and entertain the Offer. But far from this, we do not onely get not one *Good* word, but many a *Bad* one: *Such, as those People that will never Leave the King, are to expect from such as do not love Him.* Our Adversary talks much of the *Gospel* Is it a *Gospel-precept, to render Evil for Good?* What I have shewed already, that the Kings Party did, amounts to somewhat more than nothing. We'l see a little further, allowing yet to all that Acted in that work their share of Glory.

The

The Duke of *Albemarle* was the Leading Card, *then in the head of an Army better dispos'd to his Command, than Design*: and to him the Honest part of the City and Nation were no ill Seconds. But till he had tasted and tri'd them, he did well to walk warily: and rather take the middle and safer way, of Gratifying all Interests then on foot, than the more Positive, and Hazardous, of Disobliging any Two Parties, in favour of the Third.

For there were then Three several Interests in Play: the *King's*, the *Presbyterian's*, and the *Phanatick's*: The Royal party press'd for a Free Choice and Convention, without *Prelimitation*. The *Presbyterian's* urg'd a Readmission of the *Secluded Members*. The *Phanaticks*, they were for filling up the House, according to such *Qualifications* as the *Rump* should resolve upon. The course the General steer'd was this; —— the *Rump* Continued; the *Secluded Members* Returned; and the *Royalists* were satisfied with the Assurance of a new Choice soon after. His Excellence acting in this Affair rather as a Conciliator, than a Party, and in order to a Settlement; giving things the best Consistency they would then bear.

But had the antient Stock of Royalists no hand at all in this procurement? It never came to blows, so that the matter Rests upon the Effects of Policy and Counsel; whereof our undertaker cannot give any absolute account; nor shall we in our just Apology, exalt our selves, and cry, *We brought the King in*. That's *Presbyterian Language*. We did not drive him out, we'll say; and

that we joyn'd with many Thousands, as honest as our selves, in Duty to restore him. Whether there was place for Action, and to do the King a Service that way; we never Articled for Offices or Rewards, but without further care of Interest, pursu'd our Duties. In fine, the Loyal part of the Nation was animated by the same Soul, joyn'd Stocks and Counsels; and many Thousands of brave Fellows that never saw the King, were forward and ambitious to die for him. I could say what was undertaken by the old Royal Party, particularly, in *Hewson*'s scuffle, (and indeed where not?) but that it casts a Slur upon some of his Majesties new Friends. This however, those Lads of the City, that would have done the work without more ado; had they not been Muzzl'd by some of their Mungrel Magistrates, that Din'd with the *Mayor*, and Supp'd with the *Committee of Safety*; those honest people will, if need be, bear witness for us, and in like manner the whole Nation, that by Action, Counsel, Writing, we did all that was possible in the Business. Neither does what I have delivered in defence of the Royal Party, disagree with his Majesties testimony of the Other, in his gracious Speech to the House of Peers for hastning *the Act of Indemnity*: which yet our Author cites against us.

His Majesties Speech for hastning the Act of Indempnity.

My Lords, if you do not joyn with Me in extinguishing those fears which keep mens hearts awake, and apprehensive of safety and security; you keep Me from performing My promise; which if I had not made, I am perswaded that neither I nor

you

you had had been now here: I pray you let Us not deceive those who brought Us, or permitted Us to come together.

The King does not There say so much who *Brought* Him in, as who *Permitted* His Restoring; implying, that He was fain to *Condition* for that too; but withall, a great earnestness to perform His promise. *Observation*

Had but this Gentleman considered as well what the King said at the *Passing* of the *Indempnity*, as at the *Hastning* of it, this wrangle would have been saved: I'll do him the service to mind him of it.

I do very willingly pardon all that is pardoned by this Act of Indempnity, to that time, which is mentioned in the Bill. Nay, I will tell you, That from that time to this day, I will not use great severity, except in such Cases where the Malice is Notorious, and the Publick Peace exceedingly concern'd. But for the time to come, the same Discretion and Conscience which disposed me to the Clemency I have express'd, which is most agreeable to My Nature, will oblige me to all Rigour and Severity, how contrary soever it be to My Nature, towards those who shall not now Acquiesce, but continue to manifest their Sedition and Dislike of the Government, either in Actions or Words. And I must conjure you all (My Lords and Gentlemen) to concur with me in this just and neces- His Majesty's Speech at the passing the Act of Indempnity.

ſary Severity; and that you will in your ſeveral Stations, be ſo jealous of the publick Peace, and of My particular Honour, that you will cauſe Exemplary Juſtice to be done upon thoſe who are guilty of Seditious Speeches *or* Writings, *as well as thoſe who break out into Seditious* Actions: *And that you will believe thoſe who delight in reproaching and traducing My Perſon, not to be well affected to you and the publick Peace. Never King valued himſelf more upon the Affections of his People, than I do; Nor do I know a better way to make My Self ſure of your Affections, then by being Juſt and Kind to you all; and whilſt I am ſo, I pray let the World ſee, that I am poſſeſſed of your Affections.*

Thus far the Ground-work, now the goodly Structure.

Page 14. *His Majeſty thus brought back to a willing and free-ſpirited people, by their own Act, beholds his undoubted Intereſt ſet forth to his hand, and made plain before him, which is no other, than a well-tempered and compoſed ſtate of Affairs, both Religious and Civil, in all his Dominions, by the aboliſhing of former Differences, and the reconciling of all reconcileable Parties; and eſpecially of thoſe grand Parties, which (if made one) do upon the matter carry the whole Nation. And this His Majeſties Wiſdom hath already obſerved, in that excellent Proclamation againſt vitious, debauched, and*

and prophane persons, in these words; [That the Reconciliation and Union of hearts and affections, can only, with God's blessing, make Us rejoyce in each other, and keep Our Enemies from rejoycing.] *And this is the earnest expectation and hope of the Religious, and well affected to the publick Tranquillity, that the King, our supreme Head and Governour, whose gracious Disposition doth not suffer him to cleave to any divided part of his Subjects, and to reject others that are alike Loyal, will, as a common Father, protect and cherish all those that are found capable and worthy, and become our great Moderator by his Authority and Wisdom, to lessen Differences, and allay Animosities between dissenting Brethren, which already agree in the main Points of Religion.*

Having hitherto asserted, that those who fought under the late King's Banner, were not his Majesty's Friends; and that those who fought against it, ever were; he proceeds now to a Conclusion suitable to his premises, and states the Interest of the King in favour of that Voluntary Mistake: directing an *Accord betwixt all Reconcileable Parties*, and an indulgence toward all those that are *found Capable*, and *Worthy*. In *Both* (and in *All*) Cases, the Presbyterian himself must be the Judge: and then we know what will become of *Royallists* and *Bishops*. *Observation*

The Kings Friends have ever had the Honour to be Divided (by these People) into persons *Popishly affected*, *Evil Counsellors*, and *Loose Livers*; and it is evident, that they design, under these Limitations of *Reconcilable*, *Capable*, and

Worthy, to cast all such as Conscientiously, and frankly adhere to *Monarchy*, and *Episcopacy*, out of the terms of their pretended Pacification. All those that *They* find *Capable* and *Worthy*, and esteem *Reconcilable*, shall be admitted. Now to the Question.

I. Quest. *Whether in Justice or Reason of State the* Presbyterian *Party should be Rejected and Depressed, or Protected and Encouraged?*

Observation It would be first agreed what's meant by the *Presbyterian* Party: We'll weigh the *Justice* and *Reason* of the Proposition after. His own Remark upon it is not amiss.

Page 19. *As concerning their true Character, the Notation of the name whereby they are called, is both too shallow, and too narrow for it. The word* Presbyterian *hath not sufficient depth to go to the root of the Matter, nor breadth sufficient to comprehend this sort of men. That Form of Ecclesiastical Government by Parochial and Classical Presbyteries, Provincial and National Assemblies, is remote enough from their main Cause, and those firm Bonds that make them eternally one, in respect whereof many that approve a regulated Episcopacy, will be found of their number.*

Observation 'Tis truly and well said. Their *Cause* is not the *Form*, but the *Exercise* of Government: for they like well enough to have that Power Themselves, which they condemn in Others. Nor do I doubt but that *many of them approve a regulated Episcopacy*;

Episcopacy; that is, a *Presbyter* in a *Bishop's* seat, where the *Office* appears *Regulated* by the *Person*, as 'tis in a *Regulated Monarchy*; Where the *King*'s subject to the *Law*, and the *Law* to the two *Houses*. But I condemn not All, that wear that Character. The Wise and Honest Few of that Denomination, who keep themselves within the terms of Duty, and the Question; such as can talk of the Church, without disturbing the State; and debate their private Opinions, without giving publick Scandal. For these, I have much Charity, and Reverence, and wish as great a tenderness toward them, as they themselves desire. But where I see a bold seditious Faction, bidding defiance to the Civil Magistrate under the Churches Colours: I find not any thing so Sacred in the Name of Presbyterian, as to protect a Turbulent Party assuming that Appellation. It will be urg'd that they do as little Justifie the *Seditious*, as I condemn the *Sober Presbyterian*. But to agree that point, I'll prove, that the same Party, for whom they plead, and against whom I engage, are no less Enemies to the *King*, and *People*, than to *Bishops*: and, which is more, from their own practises and positions, I'll make it good. Yet one would hardly guess this from their following Character.

As concerning their main and roted Princi- Page 10.
ples, they admire and magnifie the holy Scriptures, and take them for the absolute perfect Rule of Faith and Life, without the supplement of Ecclesiastical Tradition; yet they deny not due respect and reverence to venerable Antiquity. They assert

the ſtudy and knowledge of the Scriptures, to be the duty and priviledge of all Chriſtians, that according to their ſeveral capacities, being skilful in the Word of Righteouſneſs, they may diſcern between good and evil, and being filled with all goodneſs, may be able to exhort and admoniſh one another: Yet they acknowledge the neceſſity of a ſtanding Goſpel-Miniſtery, and receive the directive authority of the Church, not with implicite Faith, but the Judgement of Diſcretion: They hold the teaching of the Spirit neceſſary, to the ſaving knowledge of Chriſt: Yet they do not hold that the Spirit bringeth new Revelations, but that he opens the eyes of the underſtanding to diſcern what is of old revealed in the written Word: They exalt divine Ordinances, but debaſe humane Invention in Gods Worſhip, particularly Ceremonies properly Religious, and of Inſtituted Myſtical ſignification: Yet they allow the natural expreſſions of Reverence and Devotion, as kneeling, and lifting up of the hands and eyes in prayer; as alſo of theſe mere Circumſtances of decency and order, the omiſſion whereof would make the ſervice of God either undecent, or leſs decent. As they worſhip God in the ſpirit, according to the ſimplicity of Goſpel-Inſtitutions; ſo they rejoyce in Chriſt Jeſus, having no confidence in a legal Righteouſneſs, but deſire to be found in him, who is made unto us Righteouſneſs by gracious Imputation: Yet withal they affirm conſtantly, that good works of piety towards God, and of juſtice and charity towards men, are neceſſary to ſalvation. Their Doctrine bears full conformity with that of the Reformed Churches, held forth

forth in their publick Confessions, and particularly with that of the Church of England, *in the nine and thirty Articles; onely one or two passages peradventure excepted, so far as they may import the asserting of Prelacy, and humane Mystical Ceremonies. They insist much on the necessity of Regeneration, and therein lay the Ground-work for the practice of godliness. They press upon themselves and others the severe exercise, not of a Popish, outside, formal, but a spiritual and real mortification, and self-denial, according to the power of Christianity. They are strict Observers of the Lords Day, and constant in Family-prayer. They abstain from Oaths, yea, petty Oaths, and the irreverent usage of Gods Name in common discourse: and, in a word, they are sober, just, and circumspect in their whole behaviour. Such is the temper and constitution of this Party, which in its full latitude lies in the middle, between those that affect a Ceremonial Worship, and the height of Hierarchical Government on the one hand, and those that reject an ordained Ministry, and settled Church-order, and regular Unity on the other hand.*

Here is much said, and little proved; onely a Pharisaical Story of what they are not, and what they are; that they are not as other men are, and their bare word for all. The Tale is well enough told to catch the silly Vulgar, that look no further then Appearances: but to a serious person, how gross and palpable is the Imposture! *In the main points of Doctrine they fully agree with the nine and thirty Articles*: and 'tis but *peradventure*, that they differ *in one or two passages, so far as they may*

Observation

import

import the offering of Prelacy and Humane Mystical Ceremonies.]

Behold the mighty Subject of any Holy War! the goodly *Idol*, to which we have sacrificed so much Christian Blood! Can any man imagine this the true and conscientious Reason of the Quarrel? Or that the middle way our Presbyterian steers, betwixt *Phanaticism* and *Popery* is the just measure of the Case? But hear him on, and he'll tell ye, the Party is *Numerous* as well as *Godly*.

Within these extensive limits, the Presbyterian Party contains several thousands of learned, godly, Orthodox Ministers, being diligent and profitable Preachers of the word, and exemplary in their Conversation; among whom there are not a few that excel in Polemical and Practical Divinity: also of the judicious, sober, serious part of the people, (in whose affections his Majesty is most concerned) they are not the lesser number. By means of a Prelatical Ministry, this way, like the Leaven in the Gospel-Parable, hath spread and seasoned the more considerate and teachable sort in all parts of the Kingdom; and especially in the more civilized places, as Cities and Towns.

Observation It had been well our Undertaker had put his *Orthodox and learned Thousands* upon the List: for that Party is a little given to false Musters. How many forged *Petitions* and *Remonstrances*! what Out-cries from the Press and Pulpit, in the name of the people; when yet the fortieth part of them were never privy to their own Askings!

Of

Of * ninety and seven Ministers within the Walls of London, fourscore and five were driven from their Churches and Houses at the beginning of our Troubles. And notwithstanding the monstrous Clamours, which occasion'd the Conference at Hampton-Court in 1603. * Archbishop Spotswood tells us, that [of about nine thousand Ministers, but forty nine appeared upon the Roll, three fourths, and were deposed for disconformity. Such a noise will a few Disturbers cause in any Society where they are tolerated.]

* English and Scotch Presbyter, Page 316.

* Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Page 479.

Touching his *Practical Ministry*, I'll grant the Cause is much beholden to the Pulpit; and that, without the aid of Seditious Lectures, I do believe the strife had never come to Blood: but yet these Preachments did not the whole Business: Do not we know what Craft and Violence hath been used to cheat and force the People? what *Protestations, Covenants*, and *Negative Oaths* have been imposed, upon pain of *Imprisonment, Banishment, Sequestration*? Have not all Schools and Nurseries of Piety and Learning, been subjected to the Presbyterian Mode? and many thousands of Godly and Reverend Divines, reduced to beg their Bread, because they would not *Covenant*? Yet all too little to procure either a general Kindness, or submission to their Principles.

The Presbyterians practical Ministry.

For the Reasons afore-going, the infringement of due Liberties in these matters, would perswade most unhappy Controversies in the Church from Age to Age. Let the former times come in, and give good Evidence. As touching Ceremonies, the Contest began early, even in King Edwards reign, be-

Page 25.

tween

tween Hooper and other Bishops. The Consecration of Hooper, Elect Bishop of Glocester, being stayed, because he refused to wear certain Garments used by Popish Bishops, he obtained Letters from the King, and from the Earl of Warwick, to the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, that he might not be burthened with certain Rites and Ceremonies, and an Oath commonly used in the Consecration of Bishops, which were offensive to his Conscience. Nevertheless he found but harsh dealing from his fellow Bishops, whereof some were afterwards his fellow-Martyrs, and Ridley among others, who afterwards thus wrote unto him, when they were both Prisoners for the Gospel. [However in time past in certain Circumstances, and By-matters of Religion, your wisdom, and my simplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgement: Now be assured, that even with my whole heart, in the Bowels of Christ, I love you in the Truth, and for the Truth's sake which abideth in us.] Some godly Martyrs in Queen Mary's dayes disliked the Ceremonies, and none of them died in the defence of Ceremonies, Liturgy, and Prelacy, in opposition to all other Ecclesiastical Government and Order. It was the Protestant verity which they witnessed, and sealed in blood, in opposition to Popery; especially the prodigious Opinion of Transubstantiation, and the Abomination of the Romish Mass or Sacrifice. In the same bloody dayes, certain English Protestants being fled for refuge into Germany, and setled at Frankford, were divided amongst themselves about the Service-book, even with scandalous breach of Charity, and

and in the issue, the Congregation was sadly broken and dissipated.

What is intended by *Due Liberty*, might be a Doubt, did not the Coherence explain it to be a Freedom of Acting to all intents and purposes at pleasure, (whether without Law, or against it, no matter) according to such presidents of former times, as our Resolver refers unto, and justifies. He tells us, *The contest about Ceremonies began early*; and so in truth it did: for in the time of King *Edward*, there was a wambling toward the *Geneva-Discipline*; but neither very earnest, nor very popular: and *that* (so far as I can learn) procured even by the Author of that Platform, *Calvin* himself. Concerning *Godly Martyrs in Queen Maries days*; some suffered that disliked the Ceremonies; others, that liked them. That *none died in defence of them*, is a Remarque might have been spared; for the Question was matter of *Faith*, not *Discipline*. *Observation Presbyterian Liberty.*

The *Frankford-Breach* indeed was a sad Story; but yet, considering the *Dividers*, of no great *Honour* or *Authority* to our Friends purpose. *Knox* and *Whittingham* were the prime Ring-leaders in this Disorder, who upon some Disputes started about the Service-Book, joyning with others of the Consistorian stamp, drew such an extract of it, as they thought fit, and sent it to *Calvin*, requesting his Opinion of it. Such was the Answer they received, as blew the whole Congregation into a flame; from whence arose that scandalous breach ensuing, *viz.* The *English Service* being established, *Whittingham*, *Gilby*, *Goodman*,

Goodman, with some others, *Divided*, and went to *Geneva*; whence, both by Letters and Discourses, they tampered the Ministers and people of *England* and *Scotland* into a revolt, encouraging them to set up their new Discipline in despite of all Opposers whatsoever.

Page 27. *The Gospel returning under Queen* Elizabeth, *these differences were revived and held up by Disputes, Writings and Addresses to several Parliaments; and there were great thoughts of heart for these Divisions.*

Observation Why this is English yet; it is but turning now to Queen *Elizabeths* reign to understand these people, and unriddle the *Due Liberty* they plead for. (But of This, in its proper place.) Having drawn down the Quarrel from *Edward* the sixth, to the blessed Restauration of *Charles* the second, (whom God protect) he proceeds to descant upon the Present.

Page 28. *The greatest part of the Ministers named* Puritans, *yeilded conformity to those controverted Rites and Forms that were by Law or Canons established, as to things burthensome, not desirable; in their nature supposed indifferent, but in their use many ways offensive; and groaning more and more under the yoke of bondage, (as they conceived) they waited for deliverance, and were in the main, of one soul and spirit with the* Nonconformists. *And even then the way called* Puritanism, *did not give, but get ground. But now the Tenents of this way are rooted more then ever; and those things formerly*

merly imposed, are now by many, if not by the most of this way, accounted not only burthensome, but unlawful.

But is it so, that Matters by *Law established*, in themselves *indifferent*, and onely *burthensome* to day, (*rebus sic stantibus*) may become *unlawful* to morrow? By the same Rule, *Kings* may be taken away as well as *Bishops*; all Dignities and Powers being alike submitted to a popular Level; for if the people shall think fit to say, the *Magistrate* is unlawful as well as the *Ceremony*, by the same reason he may destroy *One* with the *Other*; and Virtually he does it. We know, the *Rites* and *Forms* of *Worshipping*, are not of the *Essence* of Religion; and the huge bustle about Discipline, is onely an Appeal to Ignorance and Tumult. *The Church must be reformed.* By whom? Not by the Rabble. What means this Application then, of so many factious Sermons, and Libels to the *People*? They are not Judges of the Controversie. But in a Cause more capable of *Force* then *Argument*, they do well to Negotiate, where *Clamour* and *Presence* weigh more then *Modesty* and *Reason*. If a man asks, by what Commission act these Zealots? They answer readily; *'Tis Gods Cause; and better obey God than man.* He that said, *Give not credit to every Spirit*, I suppose knew as much of Gods minde, as our *Illuminates*. Is not mistaken, or perverted Scripture, the ground of all *Schism* and *Heresie*? *Councils may erre*, they say; and cannot *Presbyterians*? How comes this *Party* to be more infallible then their Neighbours? If they are not, let but all other people of different

Observation

The Consequents of Presbyterian Liberty.

Judge-

Judgements take the same Freedom they do, of Out-cries against any thing, under pretext of Conscience, let any man imagine the confusion. *For, where every man is his own Judge, all men shall dispute, till each Particular condemns himself; so that the Strife is endless, and the Event restlessness and confusion.*

This comes of not submitting to some final and over-ruling Decision. Upon this pinch at a dead lift, they flee to their *Judgement of Discretion:* which leaves them still at Liberty to shape their Duty to their Profit. They tell us, *They 'll be tryed by the Word of God*; not heeding, how *That* is again to be tryed by *Them*: so that in issue, their private interpretation of the Scriptures must pass for the *Law Paramount*, to which both King and people are equally and indispensably subjected. Undoubtedly, what God commands, we ought to do, and not to do what he forbids. This, in few words, comprises the Duty of Reasonable Nature, without distinction either of *Offices* or *Persons*. But these inviolable *Fundamentals* apart, the *Accidents* of Worship, the *Modes* of doing this or that; The *How, When, Where*, &c. are left various, and variable, according to the several Requiries of *Manners, Times*, and *Places*, at the Discretion of those Rulers whom God sets over us. Where we find matters of this middle nature orderly setled, and dispos'd, we are commanded *to submit to these Humane Ordinances for the Lords sake*; and not to Obtrude upon the Word for *Conscience*, such Disagreements, as effectually arise from *Peevishness*, for want of due

Enquiry.

Enquiry. But why do I talk to those that stop their Ears?

Their minds are fix'd in this Opinion, after a long time of search and practise, and are not like to be reduc'd to the practice of former times. Page 29.

This is but *Martin Junior Revived*, who sayes, *That it will be very dangerous to our State, to maintain two contrary Factions; That the Magistrates are then bound, even for the quieting of our State, to put down the one; That those that stand for the Discipline, neither can nor will give it over, (so as they will not be put down) and that the said Magistrates cannot maintain the corruption of our Church, namely, Archbishops and Bishops, without the discontentment of their Subjects.* Observation

Methinks the man of peace grows peremptory. Will not this Argument from *Search* and *Practice*, absolve them from Obedience to the King, as well as to the Church? Has not the *Regal Power* been scann'd and sifted, as well as the *Ecclesiastick*? or have their practises been more favourable to his Majesty, than to the Clergy? But (*their minds are fix'd, and not to be reduc'd.*) This is to say, that if the Law and they cannot agree, they'll tug for't, upon this supposition, thus he concludes. That [*in all reason, the imposing of such matters of Controversie, as by so many are held unlawful, and by those that have a Zeal for them judged indifferent, not necessary, cannot procure the peace of Church and Kingdome.*] Page 19.

Observation I say on the Contrary, that the peace of Church and Kingdom cannot be preserved, where every private and licentious spirit shall dare to question the Authority of either. In fine, admit the Scruple truly conscientious. It would be well yet, that such as fault the present Government, would Frame another, that should be liable to no exceptions, before they alter This. If that cannot be done, let us Rest Here; for if we are bound to change till all are pleas'd, never must we expect to be at quiet. Some Consciences will have no Magistrates at all; Others will Govern those they have, or Quarrel with them. To Reconcile these Two in any end of Settlement, is as Impossible, as 'tis Unsafe to put much power into the Hands of People, so dangerously principled; (But to Destroy a Government none agree better, and this we speak upon Experience.)

From hence to his fortieth page, I find little but Rapture, in commendation of the *Presbyterians*, with now and then a snap at the late *Prelates*, which is beside my purpose. See now his Complement to the King.

Page 40. *Blessed be God for our gracious Sovereign, who makes it his care and study to allay distempers, and compose differences by his just and gracious Concessions already published concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

Observation For fear his Majesty's Concessions should be taken for a pure Act of Grace, they are epithe-

ted,

ted, *Just*, as well as *Gracious*, to leſſen the Favour, by intimating the Duty; what Return gives the *Presbyterian* Party for this Indulgence? Are they not troubleſome as ever both in their Writings and Contrivements?

That *Declaration* was no ſooner publick, but a Petition was exhibited from divers Miniſters in and about *London*, for more Liberty, with ſome Formalities indeed of Gratitude for That. How many bold and ſcandalous Invectives ſince that time, both from the Preſs and Pulpit, againſt the Rites of the Church, and the Epiſcopal Clergy: Nay, and againſt the Sacred Majeſty of That very Perſon, to whoſe Incompatable Clemency they owe their Heads and Fortunes? One Obſervation here, to ſhew; that only ſeverity can work upon this Faction; *The ſingle impriſonment of* Crofton *hath quieted that Party more, than all the multiply'd, and tranſcendent Mercies of His Majeſty.* * Note.

That worthy Gentleman, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to the *Liturgical Conſiderator*, tells us, that [*The Common-prayer-book hath been expell'd by a lawful Authority.*] (referring to an Ordinance of *January* 3. 1644.) If this be not *Treaſon*, then *Scot* and *Peters* were no *Traytors*. The *Conſiderator* further aſſures us, *Page* 34. [*That very few Chriſtians that know the Power of Godlineſs, care for meddling with the Liturgy.*] I hope his Majeſty may paſs for one of thoſe *Few*. *Crofton.*

A great Aſſertor of his Principles is the Author of the *Covenanters Plea*, although in ſome Reſpects more plauſibly couch'd; in others Bolder; treating His Majeſty with a moſt un-

pardonable Insolence, and with a Suitable regard all his Episcopal Friends as they fall in his way. I should exceedingly wonder how he scap'd a lash from the last Convention, especially Dedicating that reverend piece to the *Commons* then Assembled, did I not consider, that Those very Pamphlets whereof His Majesty complains in His Declaration touching Ecclesiastical Affairs, were by my selfe at their first coming forth, delivered to several Members of that Session, which notwithstanding, they were still sold in the Hall; all the Interest I had being too little to get them suppressed. But now return we to our Author, who complains that

Page 41. *The Presbyterians are loaded with many Calumnies; as, that they are against the Interest of Civil Magistracy, especially of Monarchy; That they are giddy, factious, schismatical, domineering, and what not?*

Page 42. But no such matter, he assures us; for, *They yield unto the Supreme Magistrate a Supreme political Power in all Spiritual Matters; but they do not yield that he is the Fountain of spiritual power, there being a spiritual Power belonging to the Church, if there were no Christian Magistrate in the world. They assert only a spiritual power over the Conscience, as intrinsecally belonging to the Church; and acknowledge, that no Decree nor Canon of the Church, can be a binding Law to the Subjects of any Kingdom under temporal penalties, till it be ratified by the Legislative power of that Kingdome. And they do not claim for the Convocation, or any*

other

other Ecclesiastical Convention, an Independency on Parliaments; if they did, surely the Parliament of England would resent such a Claim.

Neither are they *Antimonarchical*. Did the *English* or *Scotish Presbyters* ever go about to dissolve Monarchy, and to erect some other kind of Government? *In no wise*: for in the Solemn League and Covenant, they bound themselves to endeavour the preservation of the King's Person and Authority, and declared they had no intent to diminish his Majesty's just Power and Greatness.

How far their Principles comport with the Interest of *Civil Magistracy*, or *Monarchy*, shall have a place by it self; yet I might very well content my self with what arises from his own words, as they lie here before us; to Prove what he Denies; for in the same Breath he both Starts the Question and Resolves it. *Did not the English and Scotch Presbyters go about to dissolve Monarchy?* *Observation on*

What is the Analysis of *Monarchy*, but a *Government* by a *Single Person*? (and, as I take it, the Injurid Father of our present Soveraign was That Person, to whom of Right the Regal Dignity belonged.) Did not these *Presbyters* he talks of, *place the Supreme Power in the Two Houses*, and under Their Commission, *seize the King's Towns and Forts; Levy Arms; Tax the People; Plunder, and Kill their Fellow-Subjects; Impose Oathes; Share His Majesty's Revenues; Pursue, and Jewishly sell and betray His Sacred Person?* *Presbytery Antimonarchical.*

If to do all this, not only Without, but ex-

preſly Againſt the King's Commiſſion, be not *to go about to diſſolve Monarchy*, I know not what is. Or if the Gentleman had rather diſpute the Royal Prerogative, than confeſs his own Miſtake in this Particular, we'll look a little that way too: but I doubt the Proſpect will be none of the pleaſanteſt.

Upon the Trial of *Cook* and *Peters*, This was Delivered for Law. *See the Narrative*, Page 182, and 183.

The two Houſes have no Coercive Power over the King.

It is the Law of this Nation, That no One Houſe, nor both Houſes of Parliament, have any Coercive power over the King: —— *That the Impriſoning of the King is Treaſon.* And a little further, Thus, *The King of England is one of thoſe Princes who hath an Imperial Crown: what's That? It is not to do what he will; No, but it is, that he ſhall not be puniſhed in his own Perſon, if he doth That which is in it ſelf Unlawful.*

This is a ſhort and clear deciſion of the Caſe: nor will it ſerve the good man's turn to argue their Integrity, from what they were bound to by their *Covenant* and *Declarations*. It matters not what they *Profeſs'd*, but what they *Did*. If this be all they have to ſay; ſome Heads are now upon the City-Gates that ſaid as much.

The Covenant an Oath of Confederacy

What was the *Covenant*, but a Popular Sacrament of Religious Diſobedience, a Mark of Diſcrimination, who were againſt the King, and who were

were for him? And thus the Marquess of *Montrose* soon found, who being at first unwarily engaged in it, with the *Kirk-party*, quickly perceived his error, and retired; living and dying the Honour of his Nation, and of the Royal Cause. Mark this, * *His Loyalty was charged upon him at his Death, for Breach of Covenant.* * Note.

The *Presbyterian Casuists* would fain perswade the Nation, to think themselves obliged by that *Engagement*. Who *Understands* it first? (And certainly we cannot be bound to do we know not what.) Next, 'tis impossible either to *Keep* or *Break* it: 'tis made up of so many Contradictions. But once for All, there is a *Nullity* in the *Institution*.

No man can oblige himself in things wherein he is subject, without leave from his Superiour. And again, *The Oath of One who is under the power of Another, without the others consent, is neither Lawfull nor Obligatory.* Thus the Reverend and Learned *Bishop Sanderson*. Now to my *Presbyterian* again. The Covenant neither lawful nor binding.

After the violent change of Government, they came slowest, and entred latest into those new Engagements imposed by the Usurped Powers, and some utterly refused, even to the forfeiture of their preferments, and the hazard of their livelihoods, when the Nation in general submitted to the yoke; and many of those who thus objected against them, did in temporizing run with the foremost. The truth is, the generality of Conscientious Presbyterians never ran with the current of those times. Some more eminent among them, Ministers and others, hazarded Page 44.

their lives, and others lost their lives, in combining to bring our Sovereign that now is to the rightful possession of this his Kingdom. And those in Scotland adventured no more than all to uphold him; and when he lost the Day, they lost their Liberty; and when he fell, it was said by the Adversary, Presbytery was fallen.

Observation Some honest Presbyterians,

Where I must either leave the Story foul on the Kings side, or prove it so on the Other, my choice is pardonable: but otherwise I shall be very tender of engaging the *Honest Presbyterians*, with the *Guilty*. That many of them lov'd His Majesty, and suffer'd for him, I will not question; and that they all submitted most unwillingly, to that *Violent Change* here mention'd, I do as little doubt. But I must needs say, the Action had been Nobler, and the Loyalty much Clearer, had they consulted the King's Security, before they lost their own.

This does not yet oblige me to the same Charity for the *Scotish Party*; who first, during a Treaty with his Majesty, basely and brutishly murthered *Montross*, and after that, Treated the King himself, like a Prisoner, than a Prince.

Page 45. He urges, that [*the Presbyterians first divided, and then dissipated the Sectarian Party, and so made way for his Majesties return in Peace.*] *Lambert*, and his Nine Worthies did as much. I

Page 46. do believe him too, [*that the sense of the Covenant quickned many men's Consciences in their Allegiance to the King.*] So did the Cock-crowing mind St. *Peter* of the denial of his Master. *But*

he

he went out, and wept bitterly; so does not every body. Alas, alas! the Saints have no faults; what should they weep for? *It may be peradventure said, the Presbyterians would enervate Monarchy; but surely* (says our Discourser) *I cannot finde the rise of this Objection, unless from hence, that they were not willing to come under any yoke, but that of the Law of the Realm, or to pay Arbitrary Taxes, levied without consent of Parliament.* Ibid.

From hence these two Deductions: First, that the Subject's free from that which binds the King, namely, the *Yoke of Law*. Suppose he breaks that Law, by what Law can we question him? At best, 'tis but to punish one transgression by another. The *second* Hint is disingenuous: as if *Arbitrary Taxes* had been the subject of the Difference. All the world knows, before a blow was struck, the King had stript himself to his *Honour* and his *Conscience* to gratifie his people. But 'twas the *Government* they aim'd at, and that they sought for. Here is yet another gentle slip: What are *Taxes* to *Presbytery*? But this is a Devil that will hardly be kept within his Circle. *Observation*

Just so in their Practices do they reduce all Civil Actions, under the Cognizance of their Courts of Conscience, as he brings here by head and shoulders, **Arbitrary Taxes to Matter of Religion.**

I confess (says he) *there are none that more reverence their Liberties, and value the native-happiness* Page. 46.

pineſs of the free-born Subjects of England. *And verily their true knowledge and ſenſe of the nature of Chriſtian Religion, makes a due freedom exceeding precious: For this Religion is not variable according to the will of man, but grounded upon an unchangeable and eternal truth, and doth indiſpenſibly binde every ſoul, high and low, to one divine Law and Rule, perpetual and unalterable. And therefore doth ſtrongly plead the expedience of a due civil Liberty on the behalf of its Profeſſors; yet ſuch a Liberty as will not enfeeble Monarchy, nor the Legal power of the Kings of* England.

Obſervation Truly I think I have not ſeen words ſo well put together, that ſignifie ſo little. *Becauſe Religion is not variable, but grounded upon an unchangeable and eternal Truth, &c. Therefore the Profeſſors of it muſt have a due civil Liberty, &c.* Is not a *Due Liberty*, *Due* to all people? Again, *What is civil Liberty to matter of ſalvation?* And yet again, Why ſhould the Presbyterians challenge that Liberty to themſelves, which they refuſe to others, upon the very ſame Pleas; and not rather ſubmit their *Diſcipline* to the *Law*, then ſtoop the *Law* to their *Diſcipline*? There is a *Liberty which is a cloak for Maliciouſneſs*: and I am afraid, *Their* and *That* are much a-kin. One thing is very notable; they never ſtate what they would have; their terms are general and indefinite, hard to be underſtood, becauſe they are reſolv'd not to be ſatisfied. *A Due Freedom, a Due Civil Liberty, The Legal Power.* What means all this, but any thing they ſhall be pleaſed to make of it?

A

A King ruling a free People, hath a Power much more noble and more free, than he that ruleth over perfect Vassals, that have no propriety. The power is more noble, because it hath a more noble subject of Government: it is more honourable to rule Men then Beasts, and Free-men then Slaves. Likewise the power is more free: For whatsoever Prince hath not his power limited by his people's legal freedom, he will be bound up some other way, either by the potency of subordinate Princes and great Lords within the Realm, or by a veterane Army, as the Turkish *Emperour by his Janizaries, and the* Roman Cæsars *by the Pretorian Bands and the Legions. Upon which account, to be a powerful Monarch over a free people, is the freedom and glory of our Sovereign Lord, above all the Potentates on earth.* Page 47.

A King ruling a free people, is a kind of *Presbyterianism*, and sounds better in the mouth of a Lawyer, then of a Divine. The Correlate to *Rule*, is *Subjection*: nor will their Title to Propriety, yet justifie the common usage of the Term. 'Tis of a dangerous Intimation, and seems to give the people more then comes to their share. (I speak with reverence to the benignity of our English Laws, and the indubitable right which every Subject hath to the Benefits thereof.) *Observation*

That *it is more honourable to Rule Free-men, then Slaves*, is but a Complement: For I can make those *Slaves*, *Free*, when I please; whereas the other way my power's confin'd: that is, in *Equity*

a

a Prince is *bound* to observe the *Law* as his own Act: and if he fails, the people may compel him to it, *if they can shew a Law for't.* To end this point: What Prince soever shall suffer every bubling Brain to controvert the bounds of *King* and *Subject*, the *Royal Authority* and the *Peoples Freedom*; that Prince, I say, runs a great hazard of his Soveraignity. The very moving of the Question, is to prophane the Sacredness of Majesty; and by degrees begets irreverend and saucy habits in the people.

Page 48. *But Rebellion* (he tells us) *and Disobedience, is the loud Out-cry of some against this Party. And that were a crying sin indeed. But let not sober minds be hurried into prejudice by such Exclamations and Out-cries. It were to be wished for common peace and amity, that the late publick Discords were eternally forgotten. But seeing some in these times of expected Reconciliation, will not cease to implead and condemn the honest minded, and render them odious to the higher Powers, a necessity is laid upon us to speak something Apologetical, at least to mitigate the business, and remove prejudice.*

Observation Sure *this loud Out-cry of Rebellion and Disobedience*, comes from within himself: for truly I have a little watch'd the Press, and since his Majesties Return, (nay, a good while before) upon my Conscience I have not met with one syllable of bitterness against that Party, but *Defensive*: Yet I dare undertake to produce forty Presbyterian Pamphlets and Discourses, of fresh date, exceeding

ing foul against the *King*, and his *Adherents*. It really makes me blush and tremble, to consider how great a mercy they abuse, how sad a vengeance they provoke. Had but these people the least spark of *natural affection* and *remorse*, the venerable ruines of a glorious Church and State would work upon them; Or now and then a thought how matters stand betwixt God and their Souls: But their great care of others makes them neglect themselves and become true *Anathemaes* for a pretended publick good. However they do well to cry Whore first; and call that a *Necessitated Apology*, which seems to me a palpable and causeless Slander. *Presbyterians seditious and impenitent.*

We have heard much and often of the Presbyterians *Loyalty* and *Religion*; we'll look a little now into their *Law*, which very fairly gives us to understand, that the *Unbishopping* of *Timothy* and *Titus*, will not do their trick. They are at work already upon the two main props of Royalty; the King's *Negative Voice*, and the *Power of the Sword*. A blessed Age the while, when the *Pulpit* shall pretend to dispose of the *Crown*; Kerve out the *Government*; and every scribling *Priest* vent his seditions and crude Politicks to the People. But now it works.

The Presbyterian Party in England *never engaged under a less Authority than that of both Houses of Parliament. I have read, that the Parliament of* England *hath several capacities, and among the rest, these two; First, that it represents the People as Subjects, and so it can do nothing but manifest their grievances, and petition for relief.* Page 49.

Secondly,

Secondly, That by the constitution in both part in the Sovereignty, and so is both parts in the Legislative power, and in the final Judgement: Now when as in place of the Legislative Power resides in the Two Houses, as also a Power to redress grievances, and to call into question all Ministers of State and Justice, and all Subjects of whatsoever degree in case of Delinquency; it might be thought, that a part of the Supreme Power doth reside in them, though they have not the honorary Title.

Observation The Two Houses, not the Parliament.

Methinks we should do well to leave calling the *Two Houses*, the *Parliament of England*, having already paid so dear for that mistake. Concerning the *Power* of the *Parliament of England*. 'Tis beyond doubt only inferiour to the Fountain of all Power, even God Himself. But then an *Agreement* is imply'd; neither *King*, *Lords*, nor *Commons*, nor any *Two* of them can pretend to a Parliamentary Authority, without the *Third*. This is not to suppose *Co-ordination* neither: The *Two Houses* are still *Subjects*. Their Office being only *Consultive*, or *Preparatory*. The Character of *Power* rests in the *final Sanction*, and that's the King's: So that effectually, the Passing of a Bill, is but the *framing of a Request*.

So much for *Parliaments*, in propriety of speaking. Now to the Power of the *Two Houses*, by my Antagonist mis-call'd, *The Parliament of England*, upon which Bottom stands the Presbyterian Fabrick.

He tells us, They Act in *Two Capacities*. As *Subjects*, or *Petitioners* first: and Then as *Sharers* of the *Sovereignty*. As if he had said, They are sent

sent to Ask what they list, and Take what they Please. The *Petitioning Capacity* is not for the Presbyterians purpose; wherefore he waves That, and sticks to the Other. What their *Power* is, will best appear from the Kings Writ of Summons, which both *Commands* and *Limits* them, *Pro QUIBUSDAM arduis, & urgentibus negotiis, &c. ORDINAVIMUS, &c.*—He states it otherwise, and places *a part of the Legislative Power in the two Houses*, which is not Doctor-like. For the *Legislative Power* is totally the King's. *They* do but make the *Bill*, *He* makes the *Law*: 'Tis the *Stamp*, not the *Matter*, makes it currant. Nor do I comprehend what he can mean by *Part of the Legislative Power*: to my thinking he might as well have said, *Part of an indivisible Point*. This will come to a pretty Fraction; Two Thirds of a Parliament, shall make Two Thirds of a Law. Is it not enough that the King can do nothing without the Two Houses, unless they may do every thing without the King? Grant this, and of all people living we are the greatest Slaves, as of all Constitutions ours is the most Ridiculous.

The Legislative power in the King

Touching *the power of the two Houses, to Redress Grievances, and Question all Ministers of State and Justice*,] The Power they have is either from Prescription or Commission. To the Former, I think, Few will pretend; and to the Latter, None.

Never was the House of *Commons*, at any hand reputed a Court of *Justice*. They cannot give an Oath, impose a Fine; nor indeed exercise any Empire but over their own Members. 'Tis

The Two Houses no Court of Judicature.

true,

true, the *Lords* house hath in some Cases a Right of Judicature; but Claiming by *Prescription*, they are likewise Limited by *Custom*. Further, *Both Houses* are no Court of Judicature, and (with due Reverence to his Majesty) the King himself in Parliament, joyn'd with the Three Estates, claim not a right of Judication, but very rarely, and with great Tenderness. It is the proper business of a Parliament to *Make Laws*, *Alter*, or *Repeal* them, not to *Interpret* them, unless in matters of very great Importance. That's left to the Judges; and to determine of their Validity. For Acts of Parliament, either *Repugnant* in themselves, or of *impossible Supposition*, or against *Common Right*, are deem'd not Binding.

The Common, and most specious shift of all the rest, is, that *the Government of this Nation is in King, Lords and Commons.* This must be swallowed with great wariness, or 'twill choak half the Nation. By the KING, *Architectonicè*; and by the other TWO, *Organicè*, (as *Walker* distinguishes it) the *King*, as the *Architect*, and the *Two Houses*, as his *Instruments*. If there were neither *Practice*, *Law* nor *Interest* in the Case, me thinks the very odds of Honour in the Deputation, should be enough to carry it. The *King* is *Gods* Representative, *They* are but the *Peoples*.

Say I should now admit them all they challenge, (as Delegated by the people) so tickle is the point yet, that if any one single person of the number, should be illegally debarr'd the freedom of his Vote; that nicety avoids, and nulls the whole Proceeding. I can hardly think any

any thing clearer, then the errour of placing *parts of the Supreme Power in the two Houses*. It implies a Contradiction: A *part* of a Thing (with leave) *Imparsible*. (But Drowning men will catch at Straws.) However, I perceive, that his Majesty's best *Friends*, and the *Church's*, (as they style themselves) are resolved to serve both *King* and *Bishops* alike. That is; just as the Bishop is to rule in *Consociation* with his Presbyters, so shall his Majesty with his *Fellow-Princes*, the Presbyterian Members. It cannot but exceedingly dispose the King, to grant these people all DUE LIBERTY, that will give him so much. Crowns are but Troublesome; and Government sits heavy upon the shoulders of a Single Person; They'l ease him of that Care and weight: and for the *honour of their Prince, and their Country's good*, divide the Glorious load among themselves.

Presbyters serve King and Bishops alike.

This being past, (which Heaven avert) *We may* (says the late King) *be waited on bare-headed, we may have our Hand kiss'd, the style of Majesty continued to us, and the King's Authority, declared by both Houses of Parliament, may be still the style of your Commands; we may have Swords and Maces carried before us, and please our Self with Sight of a Crown and Scepter.*] ——— But soft, the Man relents, and tells us, (though the Law says, the King can do no wrong;) *That This part of the Supreme power, is indeed capable of doing wrong, yet how it might be Guilty of Rebellion, is more difficult to conceive.*]

Exact Col. 316.

Page 49.

Put case the two Houses should take up

Observation

Arms against the King, because he will not Banish the one half of his Friends, and hang up the rest? would not that be Rebellion? I could start twenty Suppositions more; but I'll stop here, and the rather, because our Author professes, that [*in this high and tender point, it belongs not to him to Determine.*] Yet he goes on, and certainly believes, that the world is divided into *Fools* and *Presbyterians*; he would not otherwise have thrust upon us so gross a Juggle, as that which I am now about to examine.

Page 50. *Touching the much debated point of resisting the higher Powers, without passing any judgement in the great Case of* England, *I shall only make rehearsal of the words of* Grotius, *a man of Renown, and known to be neither Antimonarchical, nor Anti-prelatical, which are found in his Book,* De jure Belli & Pacis, *by himself dedicated to the French King.* (Si Rex partem habeat summi Imperii, partem alteram populus aut Senatus, Regi in partem non suam involanti, vis justa opponi poterit, quia eatenus Imperium non habet. Quod locum habere censeo, etiamsi dictum sit, belli potestatem penes Regem fore. Id enim de bello externo intelligendum est, cum alioqui quisquis Imperii summi partem habeat, non possit non jus habere eam partem tuendi.) *lib.* 1. *c.* 4. *s.* 13.

Observation Presbyterian Loyalty. Here we find *Grotius* cited, to justifie, that the Lords and Commons may make war against the King, to defend their Title to the Supreme Power. (*Pythagoras his opinion concerning Wild-*

fowl had been as much to the purpose.) For the English Reader's sake I'll examine it, and in this point desire a more than ordinary attention.

Where the Supremacy is in the King; in some Cases; in Others, in the People, or Senate: That King invading the other's Rights may be lawfully resisted; for this power reaches not so far. And this I think will stand good, although I have already placed the right of making War, in the King; for that must be understood of a forreign War: Since whosoever hath a part of the Supreme Power, hath consequently a right of maintaining such part as he hath.] There is one line yet remaining, which our Author hath very prudently kept for a Reserve; till the Presbyterians shall have gotten the better of the King. *Quod ubi fit, potest Rex etiam suam Imperii partem belli jure amittere*; That is, *where that it happens, the King's encroachment upon the Peoples Rights, may fairly amount to a forfeiture of his own.*

Is it not pity that people of these milder, and complying Principles, should be charg'd with *Disobedience*? If this be the case of *England*, the Question is no longer, the *Presbyterians Liberty*, but the *King's Title* to his *Crown*.

That Chapter of *Grotius*, whence he takes his Quotation, treats *De Bello subditorum in Superiores*; *Where, and where not, Subjects may take up Arms against their Superiors*. This learned man, among other Cases, tells us, in this they may, and the Reason is evident: For where the Soveraignty is thus dispos'd; half to the King, half to the People, that Prince is but a *Subject* to some purposes, a *King* to others. So that in any

point of Soveraignty, formally vested in the People; He is not their Superior, but they his. How finely he hath mauch'd the Case of *England*, where Kings have no Restraint, but what they put upon themselves, for the Laws are their proper Acts! But mark the process of his Reasonings; and how (in his own phrase) *he feels his way step by step. The Presbyterians were ever in the right*; he says. Why, if he would be quiet, who says the contrary? But then the King was in the wrong.

To bring the Case up to *Grotius* his determination: we must admit *First*, that by the constitution of *England*, the Soveraignty is shared betwixt the King and the two Houses: and *Next*, that the late King did actually invade the Popular Prerogative: from whence arises the lawfulness of resistance; and after that, *Potest Rex etiam suam Imperii partem Belli jure amittere.* They have at last the same right to the Crown, they had at first to the Quarrel. He that perusses the first eight Sections of the fore-mentioned Chapter, will find *Grotius* no favourer of his Opinions that quotes him. Be the Prince what he will, he tells us, *Summum Imperium tenentibus resistî jure non posse.* *Bodin* yet more expresly, that *England and Scotland are absolute Monarchies*: That the *Supreme Power* is only in the *King*; (*Jura Majestatis, ac Imperii summam, in unius Principis Arbitrio versari.*) Further, *In Senatu nullum est Imperium*; Nor only so, but whoever urges the contrary, meditates a Commotion, *Isti qui Imperium Senatui tribuunt, Reipublicæ interitum, ac status eversionem molinntur.*

Bodin. *de Rep.* lib. 2. cap. 5.
De Rep. lib. 1. c. 8.
lib 3. c. 1.
Ibid.

As

As to the point of Loyalty now in question, the subversion of the Fundamental Government of this Kingdom could not be effected, till those Members of Parliament that were Presbyterians, were many of them imprisoned, others forcibly secluded by the violence of the Army, and the rest thereupon withdrew from the House of Commons. Page 51.

Then it seems till that violence by the Army upon the Presbyterians, there was none acted by the Presbyterians upon the King. *To seize his Towns and Magazines; Hunt, and Assault his Royal Person; Part his Revenue; Hang up his Friends:* All this is Justifi'd, in Case his Majesty refuses to be rul'd by his Two Houses. Alas, the *Fundamental Government* was safe, (I warrant ye) so long as the Rights of *Soveraignty* were exercis'd, first by the *Assembly* in *Scotland*, and then by a pack'd Party *in a close Committee*: And the Presbyterians never the less honest men for *selling* the King first; then voting him a *Prisoner*, and after that for Pinching him even upon the very Point of *Presbytery*. Surely they are much to blame that charge these Innocents with disloyalty. *Observation*

If the *Presbyterian Members had not been forced*, (they say) *all had been well.* Truly it may be so; yet if I mistake not, there was a time when the *Episcopal Members* were forced too; and had that violence been spared, it had never come to this. But I suppose, the *City-Tumults* against BISHOPS: the *Out-cries* of the *Rabble* at

White-hall: the *Multitudes* that Baul'd for *Reformation*: Posting up such and such for *Straffordians*, as honestly opposed the Torrent of the People. This in the *Well-affected*, passes for *Christian Liberty*.

But our Author follows his Opinion with a Proof.

Page 51. *For they* (says he, meaning the Presbyterians) *had voted the King's Concessions a Ground sufficient for the Houses to proceed to settle the Nation, and were willing enough, whatever they Contended for, upon a Legal Security.*

Observation Waving their Former Vote of *Non-Addresses*, and that foul *Declaration* of their Reasons for it: We will in Charity believe, they were over-aw'd, and that it was extorted by the Army. But what excuse for the *Matter* of the *Proposition*? That they were actuated by a *Presbyterian Spirit*, appears in This, that they demanded a Settlement of a *Presbyterian Government*. It remains now only from Hence to gather the Fair Equivalence of this Gentleman's Doctrine, and to discover what 'tis the Presbyterian Faction calls a *Legal Security*.

Presbyterian Positions They hold, That if the King of *England* will not comply with the Two Houses, the People may *Chase*, *Sequester*, and *Imprison* Him: And when they have him in Distress, they may without Disloyalty press Him to these, or the like Conditions for his Liberty.

1. *By*

1. *By a Publick Act to justifie that Violence, and condemn himself.*

2ly. *To Renounce and Abolish Episcopacy, although bound by Oath and Judgement to defend it.*

3ly. *To Transfer the Right of Levying Men and Monies, to the Two Houses; by them to be raised and disposed of at pleasure, without rendring any Account to his Majesty.*

4ly. *To deliver up the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of all that served him, to the Mercy of that Party.*

5ly. *To grant, that all Offices of Trust may be disposed of by the Appointment of Both Houses.*

This is a short, and modest Account of *Presbyterian Loyalty*, the *Due Liberty* they contend for: which being settled upon a *Legal Security*, with such further *Concessions* as their Modesty shall vouchsafe to require, puts an end to the Dispute. His late Majesty observes (*upon Uxbridge-Treaty*) *That it was a grand Maxim with them, Always to ask something, which in Reason and Honour must be denyed; that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted.* And so we find it. But what's the Reason of this peevishness?

Is there any thing in the Nature of Prelacy that Page 52.
frames the mind to Obedience and Loyalty? Or is

there any thing in Presbytery, that inclines to Rebellion and Disobedience?

Observation Prelacy a more orderly Constitution than Presbytery.

Truly I think there is. Prelacy holds a better proportion in the Scale of Order, as a more regular Subordination of Duties and Relations. Nature and Providence do not move by Leaps, but by Insensible and Soft Degrees, which give Stability and Beauty to the Universe. Is not the World compos'd of Disagreements, Hot and Cold, Heavy and Light? ——— And yet we see those oppositions are by the means of middle, and Conciliating mixtures wrought into a Compliance? 'Tis the same case in *Subject* and *Superiour*; *Higher* and *Lower*, betwixt *Top* and *Bottom*, are but as several Links of one providential Chain, where every Individual, by vertue of this mutual-Dependency, Contributes to the Peace and Benefit of the Whole. Some are below me; and This sweetens the Thought that I am below *Others*: By which Libration are prevented those Distempers which arise either from the Affectation of more Power, or the Shame of having none at all.

As these *Degrees* of *Mean* and *Noble* are beyond doubt of Absolute Necessity to Political Concord; so possibly the Closer the Remove, the better yet, as to the point of Social expedience; provided, that the Distances be such as to avoid Confusion, and preserve Distinct Offices, and Powers from enterfering. Nor is this Gradual method only suited to Humane Interest, as being most accommodate to publick

Quiet,

Quiet, and to defend the sacredness of Majesty from popular Distempers: But 'tis the very Rule which God himself imposes upon the whole Creation: *Making of the same lump, one vessel to honour, and another to dishonour.* Rom. 9. 21. Subjecting by the Law of his own Will, *This* to *That*: *That* to what's next *above it*: *Both* to a *Further* Power; all to *Himself*. And here we rest, as at the Fountain of Authority. From *God*, *Kings* Reign; they appoint their *Substitutes*, and so on to inferiour Delegations: *All Powers derive from a Divine Original.*

This orderly Gradation, which we finde in Prelacy, must needs beget a Reverence to Authority; the Hierarchy it self depending upon a Principle of Obedience; whereas our Utopian Presbytery advances it self upon a Level of Confusion. It is a kind of Negative Faction, united to dissolve a laudable and setled frame of Government, that they may afterward set up they know not what. We may have learn'd thus much from late and sad experience. Let him that would know more of it, read the *Survey of pretended holy Discipline.*

I think it would be hard to shew one eminent Presbyterian, that stickles not for an Aristocracy in the *State*, as well as in the *Church*: and he that said, *No Bishop, No King*, gave a shrewd Judgement; not as implying a Princes absolute dependance upon Bishops, but in effect the Kings Authority is wounded through the Church; the Reformation of what is amiss, belonging to the *Ruler*, not to the *People*. I do not yet condemn all *Presbyters*, not justifie all *Prelates*.

We

Page 53. We are told, *That in ancient times, and for a series of many Ages, the Kings of* England *have had tedious Conflicts with Prelates, in their Dominions.* 'Tis Right, and the same cause is now espoused by our more then ordinary Papal Presbyterians; to wit, Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over the Civil Power. But we are further Questioned.

Page 53. *If Presbytery and Rebellion be connatural, how comes it to pass, that those States or Kingdoms where it hath been established or tolerated, have for any time been free from Broils and Commotions?*

Observation. It is as true, that those places have been quietest where Presbytery hath gain'd footing; as 'tis,

Ibid. *That Presbyterians have never disclaimed or abandoned their lawful Prince; that they have not ceased to sollicite and supplicate his Regards and Favours, even when their power hath been at the highest, and his sunk lowest.*

Observation. This is something which in good manners wants a name. How far the *Presbyterians* have *Abandoned* their Prince, I shall not express, but rather refer the Reader to examine how far, and in what manner they have *sollicited* him. (*Cujus contrarium.*) but

His late Majesty after forty Messages for Peace, and a *Personal Treaty*, finding himself most barbarously laid aside, in a *Declaration*

from

from *Carisbrook-Castle*, dated *Jan.* 18. 1647. Expostulates the Matter in these Terms:

Now would I know what it is that is desired: Is it Peace? *I have shewed the way,* (*being both willing and desirous to perform my part in it*) *which is, a just Compliance with all their Interests. Is it* Plenty *and* Happiness? *They are the inseparable effects of Peace. Is it* Security? *I, who wish that all men would forgive and forget like Me, have assured the Militia for My time. Is it* Liberty of Conscience? *He who wants it, is most ready to give it. Is it the right* Administration of Justice? *Officers of trust are committed to the Choice of My two Houses of Parliament. Is it* frequent Parliaments? *I have legally, fully concurr'd therewith. Is it the* Arrears of the Army? *Upon settlement, they will certainly be paid, with much ease; but before, there will be found much difficulty, if not impossibility in it.* Reliquiæ sacræ Carolinæ, Page 158.

Thus all the world cannot but see My real and unwearied Endeavours for Peace; the which (by the grace of God) I shall neither repent me of, nor ever be slackned in, notwithstanding My past, present, or future sufferings. But, if I may not be heard, let every one judge, who it is that obstructs the Good I would do, or might do.

Where

Where the right lies, a *Presbyterian* may better *Determine*, than a *Royalist Question.*

——*Magno se judice quisq; tuetur.*

Here's the Testimony of a *Pedant*, in Balance against the Authority of a Prince.

Page 45. He tells us by and by, that *prophaneness, intemperance, revellings, outrages, and filthy lewdness, were not at any time in the memory of the present Age, held under more restraint, then in the late distracted times, by means of a Practical Ministry.*

Observation These Generals spell nothing, and to name Particulars were not so candid; I could else make up *Scot* and *Peters*, at least a score, even out of the select Tribe of the Reformers, (and these I think are not as yet Canoniz'd for Saints.)

'Tis no prophaneness (is it?) to play the Hocus Pocus in a Pulpit, with Rings and Bodkins; to talk Treason by Inspiration, and entitle the holy Ghost to murther and Rebellion. To appoint Mock-Fasts, and thank God for Victories he never gave them. To swear for, and against the King in the same breath. To convert Churches into Stables, and for fear of Superstition to commit Sacriledge.

Nor is it Outrage sure, or intemperance, to seize the Patrimony of the Church, the Kings Revenues; pillage and kill their fellow-subjects. To set up Ordinances against setled Laws, and subject the

Ten

Ten Commandments to the ſuperior Vote of a Committee. To juſtifie Tumults againſt Authority, and ſuffer the moſt damnable Hereſies to ſcape without reproof. But what if there were Diſorders? by whom were they cauſed?

It is moſt unreaſonable to object, that the late wild poſtures, extravagancies, and incongruities in Government, were the works of Presbytery, *or* Presbyterians. *The Nation had never proof of* Presbytery, *for it was never ſetled, but rather decryed and expoſed to prejudice by thoſe that were in ſway, and that in the more early times of the late Wars.* Page 59.

I muſt confeſs indeed, that *Presbytery* was never ſetled, nor ever likely to be, ſo much did the whole Nation ſtomach it: but yet how this agrees with his former Reaſoning, *pag.* 29. I do not underſtand. There he pretends, that *by * long practice mens minds are fixed in this opinion*, and that the party is *numerous*. Here he contents himſelf to acknowledge, that the Presbyterians loſt their power early, and that they never recovered it ſince. This will not ſerve his turn, to acquit the Faction (ſo denominated) of our late Miſeries. Our Soveraign (of bleſſed memory) brings the conteſt down *to his ſurpriſal at* Holmby, *and the Diſtractions in the two Houſes, the Army, and the City, enſuing upon it.* Obſervation. * Note.

Theſe (ſays that excellent Prince) *are but the ſtruglings of thoſe Twins, which lately one Womb*

womb enclosed, the Younger striving to prevail against the Elder. *What the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independants now seek to catch for themselves.*]

*Note.

In fine, One finished what the Other began; for the King died at last, but of those wounds which he at first received in his Authority.

His Majesty upon his leaving *Oxford*, and going to the *Scots*, clears this yet further: where he calls it,

Adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began his troubles.

Page 58. *The truth of this matter* (says he) *is cleared by a passage of our late Soveraign, in a Letter to his Majesty that now is:*

All the lesser Factions were at first officious Servants to Presbytery their great Master, till time and Military success discovering to each other their particular advantages, invited them to part stakes; and leaving the joynt stock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but of Presbytery it self;——

Note. (It follows) which seem'd and hop'd at first to have engross'd all.

Observation The last line is as true as any of the rest; but all

all truths are not to be spoken. Indeed this slip is somewhat with the grossest. Not to trouble my self with their formal Fopperies, of *Deacons, Elders*, and their *Parish-meetings*; those are but popular Amusements: We'll pass to what's more pertinent, and see how he acquits his friends of joyning with the Independents.

The truth is, Sectarianism grew up in a mystery of Iniquity and State-policy, and it was not well discern'd till it became almost triumphant by Military successes. Page 60.

'Tis a strange thing the Presbyterians should not see what they themselves contrived; what all others took notice of; and what the late King offered to prove, [*In his Declaration of* August *the* 12th 1642.] The Insolence of Sectaries being not only wink'd at, but publickly avow'd; and the Law thwarted to protect them. See what one says (no stranger to their practices) to prove, and evidence the Combination. *Observation* *Exact Collections*, Page 531.

The Leading-men, *or* Grandees, *first divided themselves into two* Factions *or* Juncto's, Presbyterians *and* Independents: *seeming to look only at the* Church, *but they involv'd the Interests of the* Commonwealth. *History of Independency*, page 1.

These having seemingly divided themselves, *and having* really divided the Houses, *and captivated their respective Parties judgements.* Page 1.

Teaching them by an implicite Faith, Jurare in verba Magistri, *to pin their opinions upon their sleeves: They begin to advance their projects of monopolizing the profit, preferments, and power of the Kingdom in themselves.*

selves. To which purpose, though the Leaders of each party seem to maintain a hot opposition, yet when any profit or preferment is to be reached at, it is observed, that a powerful Independent especially moves for a leading Presbyterian, or a leading Presbyterian for an Independent: and seldom doth one oppose or speak against another, in such cases, unless somewhat of spleen or competition come between: which causes them to break the common Rule. By this means, the Grandees of each Faction, seldom miss their mark, since an Independent moving for a Presbyterian, his Reputation carries the business clear with the Independent party: and the Presbyterians will not oppose a leading man of their own side.

I find we are not like to agree; for these people cannot see their own faults, nor we their Vertues. I would take a good Journey to meet any man stiff in that way, that would but Confess he was ever in any errour.

Page 63. *Of all the prejudices and scandals taken against this way, there is none greater then this, that it is represented as tyrannical and domineering, and that those who live under it, must (like* Issachar*) crouch under the burdens.*

Observation We do indeed account the Presbyterian Discipline very Tyrannical, and by and by we'll give our Reasons for it. Not *because this Discipline censures scandalous Disorders,* (as he insinuates) but for that it subjects all Civil Matters to a Consistorian Cognisance, and rapt by an Impulse of Passion, calls many things *Scandalous*, which

which measured by the rule of Piety and Reformure found Praise-worthy, and of laudable Example. The usage of the Common-prayer-book is to *Them Scandalous*, though forbid by the Law: but to eject a Minister for reading it, though both without Law, and against it. That, *They esteem no scandal, viz. the contrary*.

I Have now brought the Gentleman to his first Stage, where I might very fairly leave him: for having already done my *business*, what I do more, is but for *Company*. So far as I can judge, I have not scap'd one syllable material to his purpose: nor have I either broken his Periods, or unlink'd his Reasonings, to puzzle, or avoid his meaning. How fairly I have dealt with what I have expos'd: whether in matter of *Fact*, *Deduction*, or *good Manners*, (the Subject of the Difference duly weighed) That I submit to the Reader, and where the reason lies betwixt us.

I have indeed omitted a great part of the Debate, as not at all related to my Design, nor (to speak freely) much to the point in Question. His frequent and Rhetorical Raptures, extolling to the Heavens, the *Wisdom* and *Sanctity* of the *Presbyterians*; (but above all, the *Legions* of the Saints) what does this florid vanity signifie more than the putting of his own Name to a fair Picture, when yet, for ought *he proves*, and for ought *we discern*, there's not one line betwixt them of Agreement?

The contrary course he takes with the *Prelatick party*. They (forsooth) are *Not* so and so: and from his *Generals*, There he is pleased to enter into *prohibited particulars*, taxing in *special* manner the excesses of some of our late Prelates: but without any Instances of good in the Other Party; which does but spitefully and weakly imply, that *Bishops* have more *Faults*, than *Presbyterians* have *Virtues*. It will not be now expected, that we that *differ* in the *Premises*, should agree in the *Conclusion*. But for that we'll take our Fortunes.

Page 65. *Upon the whole matter aforegoing, we firmly build this Position:*

That the Presbyterian Party ought not in Justice or Reason of State, to be rejected and depressed, but ought to be protected and encouraged.

(This is but one Doctor's opinion; *we* think
Page 66. *otherwise.*) *Nevertheless* (says he) *there being a seeming complication in this business, and another ample Party appearing in competition, a difficulty remains, and the matter falls into a further deliberation. And thereupon we are fallen upon the second Main Enquiry.*

II. Quest. *whether the Presbyterian Party may be protected and encouraged, and the Episcopal not deserted nor disobliged.*

'Tis

'Tis a particular Grace, that the *Bishops* Party may yet be admitted into the Competition; and that the man of the *short Robe* will vouchsafe to enquire into the *Consistence* of *Episcopacy* and *Presbytery*; yet it was boldly ventur'd to Determine what *Ought* to be done, before he had examin'd whether the Thing was *Feasible* or no. *Observation*

I shall not spend my Time to Controvert *Idea's*, and wrangle about Governments in the Air: we are for Plain and Practicable Contrivements, such as *Authority*, *Good Order*, and *Long Experience* have recommended to us.

I suppose the agreeing of *Both Parties* in such *Middle terms* as he proposes, a thing not utterly Impossible. Many things may be fair enough in *Notion*, yet of exceeding hazard to be put in *Practice*; especially 'tis dangerous to try Tricks with Politick Constitutions. Great alterations are scarce safe, even where they are *Lawful*, and wrought with *good Intention*: Much less are those so, which are promoted by a Disorderly, and Popular Earnestness, and with *seditious meaning*. For this I dare lay down as a *Position*: *Never did any Private Party band against a Publick Settlement, with an intent to mend it.*

But what have we to do with the Imaginary *Coalition* of the two Church-Parties; when the Kirk-Discipline affronts the Civil Sanction, and Actually invades the Kings Authority? Let them first bring their Principles to their Duties, Treating like Subjects, and Submitting as Christians.

stians. Can any man believe those People Friends to the Church that are Enemies to the State; or that the God of Order can be pleased with the Promoters of Confusion?

Were there no other reason to deny the thing they ask, than their bare manner of Asking it, it ought not to be Granted. What signifies their talk of *Number, Power, Resolution*, but a false Muster of the Faction to make a party with the Rabble? When yet God knows, they're inconsiderable; for every man but over-look his Neighbour and Count, he'll find the Disproportion. Undoubtedly the most Insufferable of all their Arguments is that of *Danger*; there's but one step between that Word and Violence. First, it implies a Seditious Complication. They move for such as they believe will Tumult: if not, where lies the Hazard? Besides, those Subjects that dare tell their *Prince*, 'tis *dangerous* to deny their Askings, do by that insolence render his Concessions much more *hazardous*. *Persons of that audacious temper will hardly make a sober use of an extorted Bounty.*

So far as *Presbyterian*, and *Episcopal*, purely refer to the *Church*, I shall not much concern my self in Our Resolvers *Second main Enquiry*: (Equal to all the World is the Incomparable *Hooker*, upon that Subject.) but where these terms are in a greater Latitude, applyed to Civil matters, I shall be bold to pass some further Observations.

Page 70. *The Dissenting side oppose not all Liturgy, but*

desire

desire that the present Form may be changed or reformed.

That's but a modest Motion. But now suppose his *Majesty*, the Law and Forty for One of the *Nation*, should desire the Continuance of it as it is; what Equity have the Dissenters to the Change? or what would be the Benefit if Granted? Not the Tenth part even of the Presbyterians would be consented with it. Some of them are against all set Forms of Common-prayer whatever; Others (more moderate forsooth) do not oppose a *prescript Form*, so it be not *enjoyned*. A third sort, will vouchsafe to permit the *English Liturgy*, provided they may have the purging of it themselves. And when all's done, the Sectaries may claim as much right to *abolish* That, as they to *alter* This. And now for Conclusions.

Observation

They oppose not any Circumstance of Decency and Order; but desire that mystical Ceremonies of humane Institution, may be abolished or not enjoyned. Page 70.

First, the Dissenters are not the Judges of *Decency*, and *Order*; and for *Mystical Ceremonies of humane Institution*; (as *Scaliger* says of the *Sepia*) *Caliginem effundit, & evadit*; He troubles the Water, and escapes in the Dark. Observation

Multiformity in Religion (says our Reconciler, pleading for Accommodation) *publickly professed, doth not well comport with the spirit of this* Page 73.

Nation which is free, eager, jealous, apt to animosities and jealousies, besides that it hath ever had a strong propension to Uniformity.

Observation Had this fallen from a Common pen, I could have better born the Disproportion of his Character of the English Temper, ——— *Free, Eager, Jealous,* and yet propense to *Uniformity.* This seems to me a mixture incompossible. But the good man means well, and writes so, when he lists. His drift is, to perswade us, that to comply with the *Presbytery*, is to compost with the *spirit of this Nation*: which being *Free* and *Eager*, seems to Cry, *Beware.* How blessedly would these *Free-spirited* Worthies order their Subjects, if they were once in power, that thus presume from their own Level, to Menace and Controul Authority!

If *Toleration* might compose the Difference, there were some hope; but That, alas, is more than they can afford the *Gouvernment*, and much less will they accept it for *themselves*. [*The temper of this Kingdom* (says he) *does not well accord with extremes on either hand*;] and to see the fortune of it, the Presbyterians are just in the *Middle*.

Page 47.

Ibid. *Toleration being not the Daughter of Amity, but of Enmity, (at least) in some degree supposeth the Party tolerated to be a burden, especially if conceived dangerous to the way established, and commonly holds no longer than meer necessity compels; and consequently neither Party take themselves to be safe, the one alwayes*

fearing

fearing to lose its Authority, and the other its Liberty.

Behold a *learned* Expostulation, and a *dutiful* [*Where the Party tolerated appears dangerous to the way established: the one fears to lose its Authority, and the other its Liberty.*] There's no great depth in the discovery, that from an Opinion of *mutual Danger*, arises *mutual Jealousie*. But what's this Case to the Subject of our Debate? *Observation*

By Toleration is not meant an Imprudential Yeilding to an Untractable, and Churlish Faction; but a discreet and pious Application of Tenderness toward such as by their Fair Comportment in the Main of Order and good Manners, appear to merit it. True it is, God himself is the only Searcher of Hearts, who sees our Thoughts, even in the bed of their Conception. Yet where we finde an inconformity of practice to profession; People *that strain at a Gnat, and swallow a Camel*; We may without offence to Charity, rank those incongruous Christians amongst *Hypocrites*; and with great Justice hold them to the Law, that strive to bring the Law down to their humours. By the same rule ought we to judge in favour of their Scruples, whose Lives are squat'd by a conform severity and strictness. *Toleration.*

It is most true, that *such Proposals may suffice for Peace, which will not satisfie Humour and Faction, and Carnal Interest.*] Why do we not apply our selves then to the only Umpire of the Controversie, the setled Law, which without *Page 76.*

either passion or Design, lays down our Duty, and our Interests? These wranglings about Trifles do but enflame the Difference, and start new Animosities, instead of quieting the old. The great pretence of Scandal (forsooth) is This:

Page 84. *The Presbyterians stick at Ceremonies properly Sacred, and significant by humane Institution, which they conceive to be more than mere Circumstances, meer parts of Worship; and whatsoever instituted Worship is not ordained of God, they hold unlawful.*

Observation. This passage lies a little out of my Road; but however, I'le make it my way. It is much easier to *call* our Ceremonies *Sacred*, and *parts of Worship*, than to *prove* them such; or that we understand them so. Is the *manner* of doing any thing, part of the thing done? And for *significancy by humane Institution*] the Exception is as frivolous. Because that in *some* Cases even of External Discipline, the Church is *limited*, does it therefore follow that it is *free* in none? or ty'd up only to such Rites and Ceremonies, as hold no signal proportion with the reason of their Institution? This Argument cuts their own Throats, since by the significancy of the *Sitting posture* at the Communion, they maintain the like of it; for (say their *Admonitioners*) *It* BETOKENS *Rest, and full Accomplishment of Legal Ceremonies in Christ.*

Page 86. *They that scruple our mystical significant Ceremonies, conceive that they are properly and merely sacred,*

sacred, as having the honour of God for their direct and immediate end.

These Reasons are but *Snares* for *Woodcocks*. That the ultimate end of all our Actions is, (or at least ought to be) *the honour of God*, admits no Question; but 'tis not therefore the *immediate end* of every thing we do, nor in particular of *Ceremonies*. The outward Forms and Rites of publick Worship, direct partly to *Uniformity* and *Order*; and partly to excite due *Reverence* and *Affection* in the discharge of holy Duties, by sensible Actions, and remarkable Circumstances. But he pursues his Errour; and instances, *Observation Significant Ceremonies not sacred.*

That the Surplice is not for gravity, nor meerly for decent distinction; but a religious mystical Habit, the Character or Badge of a Sacred Office, or Service, conformable to the linnen Ephod under the Law. Ibid.

The grand Exception against the Surplice, is matter of scandal; and that amounts to nothing where people will be peevish, and carp at every thing. Allow it what Original he pleases: If it be neither unlawful in it self, nor wickedly applyed, and by Authority thought fit to be imposed; why should it not be used? What says the incomparable *Hooker*, in this point? [*To solemn Actions of Royalty and State, their suitable Ornaments are a Beauty; are they onely in Religion a steyn?* And in another place, *Observation* Ecclesiast. polit. lib. 5. Sect. 29.

The names of our Moneths and of our Days, we 4 Sect. 12.

are

are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what dishonour unto God they are said to have been devised at the first. What could be spoken against any thing more effectual to stir hatred, then that which sometimes the ancient Fathers in this case spake? Yet those very names are at this day in use throughout Christendom, without hurt or scandal to any. Clear and manifest it is, that things devised by Hereticks, yea, devised of a very Heretical purpose, even against Religion, and at their first devising worthy to have been withstood, may in time grow meet to be kept; as that custome, the Inventers whereof were the * Eunomian Hereticks. So that Customes once established, and confirmed by use, being presently without harm, are not in regard of their corrupt original, to be held scandalous. But concerning those Ceremonies, which they reckon for most Popish, they are not able to avouch, that any of them was otherwise instituted, then unto good; yea, so used as the first.]

* The Eunomian Hereticks in dishonour of the blessed Trinity, brought in the laying on of water but once, to mess the custom of the Church, which in Baptism did it thrice.

Page 87. The signing with the sign of the Cross, (they conceive) is more evidently sacred then the former. As Baptism consecrates the Childe, so doth the Cross. It is used as a sealing signe of our Obligation to Christ, as the words used in the Application thereof do manifest; and the Book of Canons doth declare expressly, which saith, [That it is an honourable badge, whereby the Infant is dedicated to the service of him that died on the Cross, as by the words used in the Book of Common-prayer it may

may appear.] *And therefore it is in that respect Sacramental.*

'Tis a well nurtur'd Childe that gives his Mother the Lye: and it is little better, to charge this sense upon the Church of *England*, when by the very letter of the Canon an express care is taken to prevent all possibility of exception by a clear explication of the Churches Judgement in that particular. The Juggle is so gross; I need but cite the Canon to confute it. *Observation*

First, The Church of England, *since the abolishing of Popery, hath ever held and taught, and so doth hold and teach still, that the signe of the Cross used in Baptism, is no part of the substance of that Sacrament: for when the Minister dipping the Infant in water, or laying water upon the face of it, (as the manner also is) hath pronounced these words, Baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, the Infant is fully and perfectly baptized. So as the signe of the Cross being afterwards used, doth neither add any thing to the vertue or perfection of Baptism, nor being omitted, doth detract any thing from the effect and substance of it.* Can. 30.

Secondly, It is apparent in the Communion Book, that the Infant baptized is by vertue of Baptism, before it be signed with the signe of the Cross, received into the Congregation of Christs Flock, as a perfect Member thereof, and not by any power ascribed unto the signe of the Cross: so that for the very remembrance of the Cross, which is very precious to all them that rightly believe in Jesus Christ, and in the other

re-

respect mentioned: The Church of England hath retained still the signe in Baptism, following therein the Primitive and Apostolical Churches, and accounting it a lawful outward Ceremony, and honourable Badge, whereby the Infant is dedicated to the service of him that died upon the Cross, as by the words used in the Book of Common-prayer it may appear.

If this will not suffice to prove, that nothing *Sacramental* is intended by it, let it be noted, that in *private Baptism the Cross is totally omitted.*

His next Exception is at *Holy-days*: But I shall pass my bounds too far. I'll borrow one Maxime of the judicious *Hooker*, (upon that subject) which shall serve for all. *Those things which the Law of God leaveth Arbitrary, and as Liberty, are all subject unto positive Laws of men, which Laws, for the common benefit, abridge particular mens Liberty in such things, as far as the Rules of Equity will suffer.*

Ecclesiast. polit. lib. 5. Sect. 71.

After the *Quality* of our Ceremonies, the holy man will have one sling at the *Number* of them.

Page 88. *If the English Ceremonies be warrantably used, what hinders the use of divers other Ceremonies used in the Roman Church? Is it said their multitude will become burthensome and inconvenient? But who can determine the convenient number? And however, an exchange of one Ceremony for another were not unlawful. For what reason may not some other*

other Romish Rites in Baptism be used as well as the Cross, seeing they are nothing less significant or inoffensive; nay, peradventure much more inoffensive, because the Papists by giving divine worship to the Cross, have abused it to gross Idolatry.

Beggers must be no Chusers. Must we use all, or none? The English Church hath made election of the English Ceremonies; *what*, and *how many*; being the proper Judge both in the point of *Number* and *Convenience*. 'Tis not for us to Question the Authority, but to Obey it. *What if the Cross hath been abused?* So hath the *Knee* been bent; the *Hands* and *Eyes* addressed to an Idol. Are we, because of this mis-application, prohibited to worship the true God, in the same manner and posture? Now to the *Liturgie* again. *Observation*

The Presbyterians are not satisfied in the present Liturgie, but desire it may be laid aside, or much reformed. And what solid Reason withstands the Equity of this desire? Page 90.

This solid Reason doth withstand it. They beg like sturdy Cripples, for *Christs sake*, with a Cudgel. And 'tis not safe for *Authority* to give ground to a *Faction*. *Observation*

Whosoever observes impartially, shall finde, that Political Prudence was joyn'd with Christian Piety, in composing the English Service-Book.] Page 91.

And the same *Prudence* is now joyn'd with the *Observation*

the same *Piety*, both in the Right and Interest of preserving it. His next grief is a heavy one.

Page 94. *Canonical Subscription lately imposed, is a yoke of bondage.* (Now mark him) *to be considered by all those that have a true regard to such Liberty in Religion, as Equity and Necessity pleads for.*

Observation Either this passage is *seditious*, and to enflame the people against Authority, or I am no *English-man*.

Page 95. *The Canon* (says he) *requires a subscribing to the thirty nine Articles; to the Common-Prayer-Book; to the Book of ordering Bishops, Priests and Deacons; that all these contain in them nothing contrary to the Word of God.* Can. 36. *This is* unreasonable, unprofitable and unnecessary. Nay, let us take in the third Article too,—Towit, [*That the nine and thirty Articles are agreeable to the Word of God.*] And now the form of *Subscription*, viz. [*I do willingly and* ex animo, *subscribe to these Articles above-mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them.*]

Observation This is the *Yoke of Bondage*, which our Reverend Libertine complains of. First, to the *unreasonableness* of this Subscription.

Touching the *King's Supremacy*, asserted in the first Article, he is silent; and I suppose he would be thought consenting. As to the rest, what *Reason* is there that any man should be admitted into the *Ministry*, without subscribing to the Con-

Confirmation of that Church into which he seeks admittance?

If he cannot subscribe in *Conformity*, he cannot be admitted in *Prudence*: and if he refuses in point of Stomach, that must be not of a Gospel-temper. In fine, he that holds a fair opinion of the *Doctrine* and *Discipline* of the Church of *England*, may very *reasonably* set his hand to his opinion: and he that does not, may *unreasonably* be rejected because of such disagreement. So much for *unreasonable*. Neither is it *impossible*: for such as have any spark, either of Honour or Shame, will in regard to such a Profession, be tender of giving themselves the Lye, whatever they would do otherwise.

canonical subscription defended.

His third Cavil is, that it is *unnecessary*; (so are his Exceptions.) Let any man consider, when all these Bars and Limits are too little to restrain turbulent and sacrilegious Spirits from dangerous and irreverent attempts, what Sea of *Schisms* and *Heresie* would break in upon us, were but these Banks demolish'd. But he hath found out an expedient, how [*Unity in Doctrine, and Uniformity in practice, may be as well secured, and far more kindly, without this enforced Subscription*: (that is) *If no Minister be suffered to Preach or Write, any thing contrary to the established Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline, nor ordinarily for the most to neglect the established Rule.*] Page 97.

This last passage appears to me most spite-

Observation

fully

fully pleasant. *Not ordinarily for the main*, that is; *Always sometimes he would neglect the establish'd Rule.*

If the Laws already in force against *Revolters*, had been duly executed, 'tis likely *the Interest of* England, *in the matter of Religion*, had not been now the Question. But still this supposition does not imply an absolute sufficiency of that strictness to all intents and purposes of Order and Agreement. 'Tis what we *Think*, not what we *Say*; the harmony of *Souls*, more than of *Forms*, which God regards; without that sacred, and entire consent of Judgement, and Affections, the rest is but a flat, and cold formality.

Not to act contrary to prescribed Rules, (where we are bound up by a Penalty) is but a Negative and Passive Obedience; a Compliance rather with Convenience, then Duty, unless joyn'd with a prone, and full assent, both to the truth and equity of those determinations. For these and many Reasons more, *Canonical Subscription* seems to me exceeding necessary. But for those people to decline it, (upon pretence forsooth of Conscience) that upon pain of Freedom and Estates, nay, and of Hell it self, enforced the *Covenant*, is most unequal.

A Presbyterian Preacher, * *refused to pray for Sir* William Nesbett, *late Provost of* Edenburgh, *when he was lying upon his Death-bed, onely because he had not subscribed the Covenant.* Let me be pardoned, if I understand not this incongruous Holiness.

* *The late Kings Declaration concerning* Scotland, Page 403.

As

As for the Decrees and Canons of the Church, what righteful Authority doth make them as the Law of the Medes and Persians, that alters not? Page 101.

Surely his Reverence over-shoots himself. *What righteful Authority?* The Kings: and by a less Authority they cannot be discharged. By that *Authority* that Licenses (*x*) the *Excommunication of the impugners of the Rites and Ceremonies established in the Church of* England ——— the Oppressors also of the (*y*) Government by *Archbishops, Bishops, &c.* ——— By that *Authority*, to which this Gentleman hath forfeited the Head he wears. Well, but he tells us, Observation

x] Can. 6.

y] Can. 7.

The publick state of these differences is such, that the Prelatists may, and ought to descend to the Presbyterians in the proposed moderation; but the Presbyterians cannot creep to the Prelatists in the height of their way. Page 97.

With the Kings leave, had been good Manners yet. By what Authority does Presbytery pretend to unseat the Hierarchy? All the world knows (as much as they know any thing of that Antiquity) that Bishops are of Apostolical Extraction; and we are not to imagine that They died intestate, and their Commission with them. But Bishops have *descended* already, and what was the event of it? Truly it was as moderate an Episcopacy as heart could wish: but as I remember, their Revenues were not employed to maintain a practical Ministry. The Rule is, ——— *Si* Observation

vis scire an velim, effice ut possim nolle. But see the moderation of the Man!

Page 103. *Some change* (says he) *in the outward Form and Ceremonies, which are but a Garb or Dress, is no real change of the Worship.*

Observation * Pa. 84. I thought we had differ'd upon point of *Conscience*, about * [*Ceremonies properly sacred, — and parts of Worship:*] But now it seems 'tis but the *Garb* or *Dress* we stick at. The Good-man has forgot himself: and yet we had best be wary, for 'tis but an untoward hint he gives us.

Page 103. *Oftentimes* (says he) *moderate Reformations do prevent Abolitions and Extirpations.*

Observation They do so, often, and sometimes they cause them: that is, be the State never so distemper'd, where Subjects turn Reformers, the Remedy is worse then the Disease. In fine, when I look back, I find the very same desires of Reformation originally pretended; which (after such declensions as never any Prince before the blessed Father of our gracious Soveraign made to his Subjects) proceeded yet to utter *extirpation*, *Root* and *Branch*.

The present face of things looks so like twenty years ago, I cannot chuse but fear the same Design from the same Method, the same Effects from the same Causes. *Is not that likely to be a blessed Reformation, where Faction dictates, and Tumults execute?* But our *Pacifick Moderator* is of another temper sure; he onely advises a Yeilding,

Yeilding, for fear of worse: especially considering,

That the Party called Presbyterian may be Protected and Encouraged, and the Episcopal not Deserted nor Disoblig'd: which is his Resolution upon the *Second Quere*. Page 111.

Presbyterian Improvements are commonly a little *Swifter*; (or, as a man may say, *over the left shoulder.*) They have something an odd way of making *a glorious King, and a happy People.* But we shall not dispute the *possibility* of doing many things which may be yet of dangerous Experiment. I do believe it possible for a man to *flee*; yet set him upon *Pauls*, and lure him down upon the Tryal, 'tis at least six to four he breaks his Neck. Truly in my Opinion, this Proposal is all out as impracticable. But 'tis all one to *Me.* What if the two Church-parties can agree? or what if they cannot? My business is to keep the Presbyterian from laying Violent Hands upon the *Civil Power*, and to convince a Party so denominated of *Sedition*, not of *Schism.* Observation

His third Enquiry follows:

Qu. III. *Whether the upholding of both Parties by a just and equal Accommodation, be not in it self more desirable, and more agreeable to the State of* England, *then the absolute exalting of one Party, and the total subversion of the other?* And thus he reasons: Page 112.

That state of Prelacy which cannot stand without the subversion of the Presbyterians, and that stands in opposition to regulated Episcopacy, will become a mystery of a meer carnal and worldly sort, under a sacred Title, and venerable Name of our Mother the Church. For in such opposition, of what will it be made up, but of Lordly Revenue, Dignity, Splendor and Jurisdiction, with outward ease and pleasure? What will its designe be, from Age to Age, but to uphold and advance its own pomp and potency? Read the Ecclesiastical Histories, and you shall find the great business of the Hierarchy hath been to contest with Princes and Nobles, and all ranks and degrees, about their Immunities, Privileges, Pre-eminences; to multiply Constitutions and Ceremonies for props to their own Greatness; but not to promote the Spiritual Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in the hearts of people, according to the life and power of Christianity.

Observation *Let this serve for a taste of his Pedantique boldness.* Whether the *Scandal* or the *Danger* of these *Liberties* is the greater, may be one Question; and whether the Usurper of this freedom is the better *Subject* or *Christian*, may be another. If we respect the holy *Order* of *Bishops*, together with the sacred Authority of *Law*, by which they are here established, how scandalous and irreverend is this Invective! Or if the unsetled humour of the *People*, how *dangerous!* If we reflect either upon *Christianity*, or *Political Obedience*, how inconsistent is this manner of proceeding with what we owe to God and the King!

That

That state of Privacy which cannot stand without the subversion of the Presbyterians, &c.——

'Tis very well:——And why the subversion of the Presbyterians? How those that never were *Up*, should be thrown down, I cannot imagine. By what *Law*, or by what *Equity*, do these people pretend to any interest of establishment in *England*? Those of the Presbyterian judgement, that out of a real tenderness cannot comply in all particulars, will beyond doubt receive from his Majesty such favour and indulgence, as may abundantly suffice to their relief. But that pretence doth not one jot entitle them to challenge a further influence upon the Government. These wayward Appetites and Cravings, are but the fickly longings of a peevish Woman. A kind of voluntary and priviledged Conscience they have, which if it happens to take a fancie even to the *Crown, Monarchy* it self must rather perish, then these poor Wretches lose their longings. Soberly I would advise them by any means to waive these troublesome and groundless pretences. It starts a scurvy Question, and makes men ask, *How these people came by the right they challenge?* For the rest, Episcopacy is like to be well ordered, when the Presbyterians have the Regulation of it.

A voluntary Conscience.

There have been great contests (no question) mov'd by the *Hierarchy*; but I suppose this Gentleman will not instance in many since the Reformation, derogatory to the Jurisdiction Royal; whereas the whole course of the Presbyterian Discipline hath been tumultuous; and their avowed Principles are more destructive to Royalty, then even the rankest of the Jesuites themselves.

Having at length talk'd his fill against the pomp of *Prelacy*, and charg'd the Arrogance of *Presbyters* upon the *Bishops*; thus he concludes:

Fa. 114. *In very deed, the State here described, will never stand safely among a people that are free, serious, searching and discerning in matters of Religion.*] Which to the Many, sounds thus much:

Observ. *This is the Pride and Tyranny of Bishops; and none but a slavish and besotted people will endure it.* He that makes other of it, forces it. Having by the spirit of natural Divination foretold the Effects which he himself intends to cause, he gives

Ibid. this Hint to the Vulgar, that [*A Hierarchy of this Nature hath a strong bias toward Popery.*]

Observ. No doubt, and so had *Monarchy*. Was not this Imputation, by the same Party, cast upon the late King, and with the same measure of Confidence and Bitterness? when yet we know, that those that charged him with it, did not believe themselves; it was so rank, and evident a Calumny. Nor to insist upon the Dying-Testimony of that incomparable Prince, (which was but suitable to the pious Practice and Profession of his whole Life) That early *Protestation of his Majesties, before his receiving of the holy Eucharist at* Christ-Church *in* Oxon, 1643. will be more pertinent to my purpose.

Bibliotheca Regia, pa. 58. *His Majesty being to receive the Sacrament from the hands of the Lord Archbishop of* Armagh, *used these publick Expressions immediately before his receiving the blessed Elements; he rose up from his*

Knees,

Knees, and beckning to the Archbishop for a short forbearance, made this Protestation.

My Lord,

I Espy here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world the Resolution I now do make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared my Soul to become a worthy Receiver; and may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its Beauty in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, *without any Connivance at Popery. I bless God, that in the midst of these publick Distractions, I have still Liberty to Communicate: and may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if my* Heart *do not joyn with my* Lips *in this* Protestation. His Majesties Protestation.

This was not yet enough to allay the clamor, till with his *Royal Blood* he had seal'd this Protestation.

If the Objector can produce a fouler Injury, either to *Religion, Duty, Truth, Honour* or *Humanity*, let it be done, to save the credit of the Faction, unless they reckon the Superlative perfection of their wickedness, a point of glory.

His next Remark is not amiss. [*Let it be well observ'd, that the designes of suppressing Puritans, and complying with Papists, had their beginning both at once, and proceeded in equal paces.*] Page 115.

Observation Let it be here as well observ'd, that if by *Puritans* be meant those of the Separation, by *Papists* is intended such as kept their Stations. These Squires of the *Revolt*, esteeming as Antichristian, whatever stands in opposition to their heady purposes. We have this both from Story and Experience, that it hath been the constant practice of these unmannerly *Apostates*, *to speak evil of Dignities*; and being fall'n off themselves, it is but carnal prudence, by damning of the *Authority* to justifie the *Schism*. No wonder then, *if the designes of suppressing Puritans, and complying with Papists, had* (in his sense) *the same beginning, and proceeded in equal paces.*

Page 116. To bring himself off, he shifts it thus: [*According to a vulgar sense, we take Popery in the height thereof, for the* Heresies *and* Idolatries; *and in the lower degree thereof, for the gross* Errours *and* Superstitions *of the Church of* Rome.] And 'tis against English Popery in the *lower degree*, that he plants his battery; arguing so formally against our going over to *Rome*, that any Stranger to the Story would swear, The *Prelates* and the *Pope* were more then half agreed already.

Having at length with great good-will advised the Church of *England* as to the Main, he

Page 120. concludes, that [*All approaches and motions towards* Rome, *are dangerous.*]

Observation But are not all Recesses from Truth more dangerous? Because in *every* thing we cannot agree with them, must we in *nothing*? To me this appears rather Petulancy, then pious Reason. We

are

are to hold fast the truth where-ever it lies; and to embrace what's good and laudable in any Church, without adhering to the contrary. Did not St. *Paul become all things to all men; that by all means he might gain some?*

But if we walk upon the Brink, (he tells us) *we may soon fall into the Pit.* These wary men forget that there's a *Gulf* on the one hand, as well as a *Pit* on the other; and that the *narrow way* is that which leads to eternal happiness. Page 120.

But as to Reason of State, (he says) *that enmity with* Rome *hath been reputed the Stability of* England: *concerning which, the Duke of* Rhoan *hath delivered this Maxime;* [*That besides the Interest which the King of* England *hath common with all Princes, he hath yet one particular, which is, that he ought throughly to acquire the advancement of the Protestant Religion, even with as much zeal as the King of* Spain *appears Protector of the Catholick.* Ibid.

Allow this Maxime good in State, he hath but found a Rod to whip himself. *The King of* England *ought to advance the* Protestant *Religion.*] Content. What if these Disciplinarians prove no Protestants? but rather a *Schismatical*, and dividing Party, driving an interest of their own under that specious name; and with great shew of holiness, opposing not onely the Practices and Rules of the *Reformed Churches*, but even the Fundamentals of *Christianity* it self? By whom will they be tryed? or on what Judgement and Authority

Observation

English and *Scotch* Presbyterians no Protestants.

Authority will they rest? They quarrel with the *Order of Bishops*; the *Common-Prayer*, the *Rites and Ceremonies* of the *Church*; the *Law* of the Land, with *Customes* and *Antiquity*: in short, with every thing but the *Geneva Discipline*. They do by *That* too, as our Gallants do by *French-fashions*: The Court of *France* being the Standard of queint *Mode* and *Dress* to the *one*, as is *Geneva* of *Church-order* to the *other*: what is *there* used, though in it self extravagant enough, our humour is to over-do; and if the *French* wear but wide *Breeches*, we forsooth must wear *Petticoats*. Consult the learned and most eminent Asserters of their *Discipline*: ask the grand Architect himself, or indeed any of his *Setters*, (of fair and honourable credit) concerning the Subject of our present Controversie. And,

I. *whether it be a* Protestant *Opinion, that the* Hierarchy *is* Antichristian?

II. *whether such Laws of Humane Institution, as neither contradict the* general Laws of Nature, nor any Positive Law in Scripture, be binding or no?

III. *In case of Male-Administration, either in Church or State, whether the people may take upon them to reform?*

But this they are not so stiff in, as to maintain it, but by blind inferences not worth regard.

This is the state of our Dispute; and if in these Particulars our *Anti-prelatists* oppose the current of

of reformed Divines, to advance their interest is to undermine the common interest of the *King*, *Nation*, and the *Protestant* Cause. Needs must it move many *Revolts*, and keep off many *Proselytes*, to see such principles declared of the Essence of *Christian Religion*, as a good honest *Pagan* would be asham'd of. Nor less repugnant are they to Rules of *Society* then of *Conscience*; *no Tyranny so cruel and imperious*, *no Slavery so reproachful*. Set up their *Disciplines*, and we're at *School* again. Methinks I see a *Presbyter* with his *Rod* over every *Parish*, and the whole Nation turning up their Tails to a pack of *Pedants*. Yet hateful as it is, *even that* it self established by Authority, might challenge our Obedience.

I have digressed too far; yet in convenient place I must say something further upon this subject.

If our new-fangled *Politician* had consider'd, that the *Kings* interest leads him to support that which the *Presbyterians* strive to *overthrow*, (the Protestant Religion) I am perswaded he would have spared the Duke of *Rhoan* in this particular. The *Maxime* even as it lies before us, affording matter of dangerous Deduction to his disadvantage; but taken in *Coherence*, nothing can be more sharp and positive against him.

That great and wise Captain the Duke of *Rhoan*, discoursing upon what Reasons of State Q. *Elizabeth* acted toward *Spain*, *France*, and the United *Provinces*, tells us particularly, how much she favoured the *Protestants* in *France* and *Germany*: [*Par toutes ces maximes*, (dit il) *cette sage Princesse a bien fait comprendre*, *à ses successeurs*, L'Interest des Princes, Discours 7.

cesseurs; que outre l'interest que l'Angleterre a commun avec tous les Princes, &c. ——— By all these Maximes (says he) this wise Princess hath given her Successors to understand, that besides the interest which *England* hath *common* with other Princes, yet one *particular* it hath, which is to advance the Protestant Religion with the same Zeal the King of *Spain* does the Catholick.

Be it here noted, that when the Queen was most concern'd, and busie to promote the Protestant Cause, even at that very time was she as much employ'd to crush the *Presbyterian* Faction, *viz. Cartwright, Coppinger, Arthington, Hacket,* and their Confederates. The *First* of these was imprison'd, and fined for Seditious and Schismatical practices against the *Church* and *State.* The *Second* starved himself in a Gaol. The *Third* repented, and publickly recanted. The *Fourth* was put to death for horrid Blasphemies. (These people talk'd of a practical Ministry too.) —The *Men* are gone, but their positions are still in being, and onely attend a blessed opportunity to be put in execution. This may appear from divers late Discourses, which are effectually no other then *Cartwrights Principles* and *Model*, couch'd in warier terms; and other Authority then these, or such as these, I think the very Authors of them will scarce pretend to.

Puritan-Protestants.

One Observation more. Our *Paraphrast* renders *the advancement of the Protestant Religion,*— Enmity *with* Rome, to the great scandal of the reform'd Profession. We have no *Enmity* but with *Errour*, which in a rigid *Puritan*, to us, is the same thing as in a *Papist.*

But

But *Popery* (he tells us) *hath been ever infamous for excommunicating, murthering and deposing Princes.* Page 121.

I am no Advocate for the *Roman* Cause; but upon this account, I think betwixt the *Jesuite* and the *Puritan*, it may be a drawn Barrel. And yet he follows, with an assurance that *the Protestant Religion aims at nothing, but that the Kings Prerogative, and popular Liberty, may be even balanced.*] That is, the *Puritan*, the *Presbyterian Religion*, as he explains himself a little lower. Observation Page 121.

I cannot call to minde one single passage in this whole Discourse, concerning the *Kings Power*, or the *Peoples Liberty*, which is not either worded doubtfully, or with some popular Limitation upon the Royal Authority. What does he mean by *even balancing? Check by Joul?* Or by what Warrant from the Word of God does a Presbyters Religion intermeddle with popular Liberty? Unless the holy Man intends to bring *Homage to Kings*, within the compass of *Ceremonies of Humane and Mystical Institution.* Yet once again. Observation

The Presbyterian Principle (he says) *is for subjection to Princes, though they were Heretick or Infidels; and if they differ herein from the Prelatical Protestant,* (I was afraid we had been all Papists) *it is onely that they plead for Liberty, setled by known Laws, and Fundamental Constitutions.*] Page 122.

Still

Observation. Still *ad Populum*? these are the Incantations which have bewitch'd this Nation. This Charm of *qualify'd Disloyalty*, and *Conditional Obedience*. Behold the very Soul of the Faction in these five lines; a fair profession first to his *Majesty*, and with the same breath a seditious hint to the *People*. What is that Liberty he talks of, but a more colourable title to a Tumult? That Legal Freedome, to which both by the Royal Bounty, and our own Birth-right, we stand entituled; we ought not to contest for with our Soveraign, and (God be prays'd) we need not. Now for another fit of kindness.

Page 403. *His Majesty our Native King, may govern as he pleases, without fear of Hazards*, by continuing to shew himself a Common Father.

Observation. What's this cause akin to the third Article of the Covenant? *To preserve and defend the Kings Majesties Person and Authority*, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms, (as who should say, if he does otherwise, let him look to himself.)

Ibid. *The excessive Dominion of the Hierarchy, with the rigorous imposition of humane Ceremonies, was accounted much of the malady of former times, which ended in those deadly Convulsions of Church and State.*

Observation. Since this pragmatical Levite will provoke a Controversie, I am content to entertain it.

If

If the Bishops excesses were the Cause of War, how came the Kings ruine to be the effect of it? But 'tis no new thing for a Presbyterian to saddle the wrong Horse. Just in this manner did the *Covenanters* cheat his late Majesty: and *by those very Troops that cryed down Bishops, was the King murther'd.* Ridiculous Brutes, to boggle at a Surplice, and yet run headlong into a Rebellion!

The grand source of our Miseries was the *Covenant*, by which, as by a Spell (in the Name of the blessed Trinity) the people were insensibly bewitched into an aptness to work any wickedness which the Interpreters of that Oracle should say was the Intendment of it.

The first notorious Rupture was in *Scotland*, in 1637. attended with a COVENANT, which without Question was formerly agreed upon by the confederate Faction of both Kingdoms, as the most proper and least hazardous way of tasting the Kings patience, and the Peoples humours. That their design was laid and carried on by Counsels, and Intelligence as aforesaid, may be collected from the Consequent, and brotherly Agreements: and truly the Retrospect of the Act of *Indemnity* seems to hint no less, for it commences from the first Scottish Broyls, tho' four or five years before the War brake out in *England*; what was begun by *Covenant*, was so prosecuted.

By virtue of the Covenant the Kirk-party supply'd themselves with Men and Monies: Armies were brought into the Field, and beyond doubt,

doubt, many that truly loved the King, not knowing what they did, ingaged against him. To keep up this delusion, the Press and Pulpit did their parts; and to deal freely, after this advance, I should as much have wondred if they had stop'd short of his death; as I find others wondering how they durst accomplish it. Death with a *Bullet* or an *Axe*, is the same *Mischief* to him that suffers it: and the same *Crime*, wilfully done, in those that *Act* it. No man can rationally *allow* one; and *condemn* the *other*: For if the Violence be Lawful; why not as well in the Field, as upon a Scaffold?

In this particular, the Doctor is beside his Cushion. He makes me think of the Marquess of *Newcastle*, upon a sawcy Clergy-man. Why should I remember that he's a Priest (says my Lord) if he forgets it himself? His next argument against *Prelacy* is a Modest, and (as I take it,) a queint One.

Page 124. *Can the self-same State* (sayes he) *and Frame of Ecclesiasticks be now revived after so great and long continued alterations, by which the Anti-prelatical party is exceedingly increased and strengthned?*

Observation. Surely this Gentleman has a minde to give his Brother *Crofton* a visit. Cannot *Prelacy* be better *restored* after a *Discontinuance*, then *Presbytery erected*, where it never had a *Being*? The very Laws are yet to make, for the One, and still in force for the Other. But the great Obstacle is, *the Anti-prelatical party is exceedingly increased*,

fed, and strengthned.] Truly I think, if his Majesty should lessen the Number of them, by two or three of the Promoters of that Doctrine, the Precedent might do some good upon the rest. Can any thing be more seditious? These hints upon fair grounds, and given in *private*, might very well become the gravity of a Church-man, or the profession of a Loyal Subject. But to the *People*, these Calculations are Dictates of Sedition; and only meant to engage the credulous and heady multitude in false opinions, both of the Tyranny of Prelates, and their own Power.

Thus far in *Observation* upon the first Part of *The Interest of England, in the matter of Religion, &c.* ——— *The whole Structure whereof* (in his own words) *rests upon these Positions, as its adequate foundation.*

1. *That whilest the two forenamed Parties remain divided, both the Protestant Religion, and the Kingdome of* England *is provided against it self.*

2. *That the* Presbyterians *cannot be rooted out, nor their Interest swallowed up, whilest the State of* England *remaineth Protestant.*

3. *That their subversion, if it be possible to be accomplished, will be very pernicious to the Protestant Religion, and the Kingdome of* England.

4. *That the Coalition of both Parties into one may be effected by an equal accommodation, without repugnancy to their conscientious Principles on either side, insomuch that nothing justifiable by Religion or sound Reason can put a Bar to this desirable Union.*

The *whole matter* (in Debate he tells us) rests upon three main Enquiries.

Page 17. part 1. I. Qu. *Whether in Justice or Reason of State the* Presbyterian *Party should be Rejected and Depressed, or Protected and Incouraged.*

II. Qu. *Whether the* Presbyterian *Party may be protected and incouraged, and the Episcopal not Deserted nor Dis-obliged.*

III. Qu. *Whether the Upholding of both parties by a just and equal accommodation, be not in it self more desirable, and more agreeable to the State of* England, *than the absolute exalting of the one party, and the total subversion of the other.*

Observation. I shall now offer some further Reasonings of my Own, upon this Subject; therein proposing such *Brevity* and *Clearness*, that both the Lazy, and the Busie may find time to read it, and the Weakest not want Capacity to understand it.

 His

His first Position holds no further good, then as the Presbyterians are first Protestants in the matter of the difference, and then Considerable in the balance of the Nation. Religion led the Quarrel, so let it the Dispute. In using the word Protestant, I follow Custome, for I had rather call it Catholick; but Protestant let it be.

I suppose by the Protestant Religion, we understand That of the Reformed Churches; to whose Decision we shall willingly submit the sum of our Disagreements; which may be stated under a Reduction to these Two Questions.

I. Qu. *Whether or no the Government of the Church by* Archbishops *and* Bishops — *be* Antichristian, *or* Unlawful?

II. *Whether such Laws of Humane and Significant Institution, as are orderly made, and neither contradict the General Laws of* Nature, *nor any positive Law in* Scripture, — *be Binding or not?*

First, concerning the Prelacy: *Luther* himself distinguishes betwixt *Popish Tyrants*, and *True Bishops*; professing his Quarrel to them as *Popish*, not as *Bishops*. *Apol. Confess: per Pap. pag. 137.*

The Authors of the *Augustane Confession*, leave it upon Record, *That they would willingly preserve the Ecclesiastical and Canonical Polity, if the Bishops would cease to Tyrannize over their Churches.* *De reform. adver. Eccl. pag. 95.*

Bucer advises by all means *the restoring of such Ecclesiastical Government as the Canons prescribe,* (Episcopis & Metropolitanis) *to* Bishops *and* Metropolitans. Melancthon *to* Luther, ——*You would not imagine* (says he) *how some people are nettled to see Church-polity restored as if it were the Romish Soveraignty again.*] Ita de Regno suo, non de Evangelio, dimicant socii nostri.

Calvin himself recommends the *Hierarchy* to the King of *Poland*: and treating concerning the Primitive Church, says, *That the Antient Government by Archbishops and Bishops, and the* Nicene *constitution of Patriarchs, was for Orders sake, and good Government.* [Ad Disciplinæ conservationem pertinebat.]

The same person being called to account by Cardinal *Sadolet*, concerning the *Geneva* defection, and for subscribing the *Augustane Confession*, renders this Answer: *Cursed be such as oppose that* Hierarchy, *which submits it self to Christ Jesus.* [Nullo non *Anathemate* dignos censeo, quotquot illi *Hierarchiæ*, qui se *Domino Jesu* submittit, subjici nolunt.

Zanchi (the Compiler of the Gallican Confession) observes a Change of *Name*, rather than of *Office*, throughout most of the *German Churches*. *Bishops* and *Archbishops* being only disguised under the notion of *Superintendents*, and *General-Superintendents*: acknowledging, *That by the consent of Histories, Councils, and the antient Fathers, those Orders have been generally allow'd by all Christian Societies.*

Beza, (the rigid Successor of *Calvin*) being check'd by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for inter-

intermedling beyond his Sphear,——*We do not charge* (says he) *all* Archbishops *and* Bishops *with Tyranny.*——*The* Church *of* England *hath afforded many learned Men, and many glorious Martyrs of that Function. If that Authority be there still in Being, may a perpetual Blessing go along with it.* [Pruatur fane istâ singulari Dei beneficentiâ, quæ utinam illi sit perpetua.] This with all Ceremony was addressed,——*Totius Angliæ* Primati: *To the* Primate *of all* England, *and in the name of the whole Church of* Geneva.

Saravia makes him speak yet plainer, who arguing for the *Hierarchy* out of the Apostles Canons, receives from *Beza* this Reply: *This is no more then what we wish might be restored to all Churches,* [*Quid aliud hic statuitur, quam quod in omnibus locis, Ecclesiis restitutum cupimus?*] Bez. cont. Sarav. p. 116.

Zanchi comes up to the very Case of *England*; (nay, and a little further too) not only affirming *Episcopacy to be agreeable to the Word of God*: But where it is in exercise, that it ought to continue; and where by violence it hath been abolish'd, that it ought to be restor'd. [*Ubi vigeat* (Isti ordines scil.) *non esse Abolendos, & ubicunque Iniquitas temporum eos abolevit Restituendos.*] Note.

With what Face now shall the *Enemies* of *Bishops* call themselves *Protestants*, in this particular at least, wherein they evidently cross the whole stream of Protestant Divines? Now to the second *Quære*.

Whether such Laws of Humane, and significant Institution, as are orderly made, and nei-

ther contrary the general Laws of Nature, nor any positive Law in Scripture, be binding or no?

Calvin Epist. p. 341

Hear Calvin first. [*Quamvis quod obtenditur scandalum offerat, quia tamen verbo Dei per se non repugnat, spernendi non est.*] Scandals taken, without repugnancy to the Word of God, are not sufficient to invalidate the obligation of a Ceremony imposed by the Church. Beza himself, nay, Mr. Cartwright, the Captain of our blessed Legion, will allow, rather than quit a Benefice, to wear a Surplice.

Scripta Anglicana, p. 455.

Bucer thanks God with all his soul, to see the English Ceremonies so pure, and conform to the Word of God, or at least, (rightly understood) not contrary to it.

Not to hunt further for particular Authorities, I shall be bold with my own Brother, and make use of some general Collections which he hath gathered ready to my hand.

W. L. S. His affinity of sacred Liturgies, pag. 27.

Nothing assuredly can be more demonstrative of the Protestant *Tenets, than the Confession of their several Churches.*

Cap. 27.

That of Helvetia *first*, [*Churches have always used their Liberty in Rites, as being things indifferent, which we also do at this day.*] *That of* Bohemia; [*Humane Traditions and Ceremonies brought in by a good custom, are with an uniform consent to be retained in the Ecclesiastical Assemblies of* Christian *People, as the common Service of God.*] *The* Gallican; [*Every place may have their peculiar constitutions, as it shall seem convenient for*

Cap. 15.

Act. 32.

them

them.] The Belgick, [*We received these Laws as are fit, either to cherish or maintain concord, or to keep us in the obedience of God.*] That of Amburg, [*Ecclesiastical Rites which are ordained by mans Authority, and tend to quietness and good order in the Church, are to be observed.*] That of Saxony, [*For order sake, there must be some decent and seemly Ceremonies.*] That of Swethland, [*Such Traditions of men as agree with the Scriptures, and were ordained for good manners, and the profit of men, are worthily to be accounted rather of God than of Man.*] *These were the Tenets they publickly owned; nor did they act different from what they taught, ordaining Churches, Pulpits, Prayers before and after Sermon, administring the Sacraments in Churches, delivering the Communion in the forenoon to Women, Baptizing Infants, and several other things, not one whereof were directly commanded by either Christ, or his Apostles.*

Act. 32

Act. 15.

Act. 20.

Cap. 14.

From hence 'tis manifest, we may divide from *Presbyterians*, and yet the *Protestant Religion not be divided against it self.*

A *Schism* there is, but whether in the *Church*, or in the *Faction*, is only a dispute for those that plead the *Authority of Tumults.*

As their opinions are not one jot *Protestant*, where they divide from *Bishops*; so neither are their *Morals* any more warrantable, wherein they act as *Men*. Which shall we credit, *Words*, or *Deeds*? Will they not *Bite*, where they pretend to *Kiss*? A famous *Martyr* of that Party, (*Hacket*) served a fellow so. Some difference there had been, and they were to be made friends. *Hacket* pretends a Reconcilement; takes the

man in his Arms, bites off his Nose, and swallows it. This is that *Harker* that was joyn'd with *Coppinger* and *Arthington*, in a plot to murder the Lords in the *Star-chamber*, because they had committed *Cartwright*, (the great *Rabbi* of the Party) whose Crime was only the erecting of the *Presbytery* without, and against the Queens Authority. Thus we see, *That in Queen* Elizabeths *dayes too, the Protestant Religion was divided against it self*. Briefly, that it is not *Religion* which moves these people, is most apparent, from their unquiet and distempered Actings. Proceed we now to enquire what it is, or in plain terms, to unmaske the *Holy Ghost*, and shew it bare-fac'd to the people.

Of all Impressions, those of Religion are the deepest, and of all Errors, the most to be lamented and indulged, are those of tender and misguided Consciences. The clearness of this Principle considered, it is no wonder that the foulest designs, put on the greatest shews of Holiness, as the only way to gain and rule affections, without which, no great matters can be accomplish'd. This is a truth well known to the *Presbyterians*, and of experiment as antient as their Discipline.

We do not undertake to read their *Hearts*, but their *Writings*, we may venture upon; enquire a little into their *practices*, and by comparing both, give some tolerable guess at their *Intentions*. The readiest way is to look back, and match them; for the best prospect of the future is behind us.

Some Grumblings towards the Confession, Discipline, there were in the days of *Edward* 6. but the first notorious separation was that of *Frankford*, (in the Reign of Queen *Mary*) when *Gilby*, *Goodman* and *Whittingham*, with their Companions, flew off, and went to *Geneva*, from whence they returned into *England*, soon after Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown. These led the Dance in *England*, *Knox* in *Scotland*; and at this day our *Presbyterians* do but write after their Copy: professing the same *Principles*, pretending the same *Scruples*, and beyond doubt proposing the same *End*, which was to get the same Dominion here, which *Calvin* and *Beza* exercised at *Geneva*; to whom they still repair'd for Counsel as they needed. *The rise of Presbytery.*

Cartwright and *Travers* came in the breech of these, but not without consulting *Beza* first, to learn the Knack of the *Geneva Model*. These were the men that first brought into *England* that horrible Position, that the *Geneva Discipline* was as essential a Note of the Church, as either the *true preaching of the Word* or the *due Administration of the Sacraments*. This is the Principle which supports the Presbyterian Interest.

For the first thirteen years of the Queens Reign, they contented themselves to throw about their Libels against Ceremonies, and divide into *Conventicles*. *The Progress of Presbytery.*

In the fourteenth of her Majesty, they addressed two *Admonitions* to the *Parliament*; the former in the quality of a *Remonstrance*, with a Platform; the other, bolder, and more peremptory. This Parliament was no sooner dissolv'd, but

but they fell precisely to work upon their Disciples: the Progress whereof is with great exactness set down in the Third Book of Bancroft's Dangerous Positions.

Dangerous Positions, page 43. In 1572. a Presbytery was erected at Wandsworth in Surrey, at which time they had also their Conventicles in London; where they openly debated upon against Subscription, the Attires, and Book of Common-Prayer.

Dangerous Pos. page 44. In 82. a Meeting was appointed of 60 Ministers out of Essex, Cambridge-shire, and Norfolk, at Cockfield, to confer about the Common-prayer ... what might be tolerated.]

Dangerous Pos. page 45. In 83. the Form of Discipline was compiled, and Decrees made touching the practice of it; which soon after were put in execution.]

Dangerous Pos. page 75. In 87. the Discipline was received, and put in practice in Northamptonshire.]

page 86. In 88. a Classical Assembly at Coventry.]

page 89. In 89. a general Meeting in Cambridge, and another at Ipswich.]

page 91. In 1590. upon the dutifull of the Premises, they refused to answer upon Oath.

Dangerous Pos. page 129. Being thus associated, they appropriate to their Meetings the name of the Church, and ask the style.

Page 125. The Offices of the Lord Archbishops and Bishops, &c. (says Martin Junior) are condemn'd by the Doctrine of the Church of England.]

By these degrees, the Schismaticks advanced to a dangerous height and boldness; and of this temper and extraction are our Presbyterians.

After the forementioned discovery, a stricter eye and hand was kept upon them; divers of the Ring-

Ring-leaders were imprisoned, and the Covt broken.

Upon the coming in of King James they began to sit again; but he knew them too well either to trust or infect them.

How they behaved themselves towards the late King, is to their eternal Infamy not onely of the Faction, but of the Nation, too notorious. What they design toward the present Government, that's the Question; and now I come to enquire,

Whether in Justice or Reason of State the Presbyterian Party should be Rejected and Depressed, or Protected and Incouraged.

Before I fall upon the Question, once again I explain my self. By PRESBYTERIAN, I intend a *Faction*, that under colour of setling a Reform'd DISCIPLINE, seeks to dissolve the frame of an establish'd *Government*. And first, I am to prove that Party so distinguish'd, such a *Faction*: which both from their own *Practices*, *Pretences*, and from common Observation and Authority, I think I shall make good; and that their last aim is to exercise that Tyranny themselves, which they pretend to punish.

We'll first examine how they treat the *Civil Power*.

If Princes be Tyrants against God and his truth, their Subjects are freed from their Oaths of Obedience. Presbyter. Doctr. concerning Kings.

Kings, Princes and Governours, have their Authority

Knox to Engl. and Scotl. fol. 78.

Authority of the people; and upon occasion, the people may take it away again.

Gilby Obedience. p. 25

Ministers ought not to obey the Prince when he prescribes Ceremonies, and a Fashion of Apparel;

Register, p. 48.

Evil Princes ought by the Law of God to be deposed.

Goodman, p. 144.

Andrew Melvil being cited to answer for Treason delivered in a Sermon, declined the Judgment of the King; affirming, That what was spoken in Pulpit, ought first to be tryed and judged by the Presbytery; and that neither the King nor Council might *in primâ instantiâ*, meddle therewith, although the speeches were Treasonable.

Spotswood History of the Chur. of Scotl. p. 330.

Strike the Basilique Vein; nothing but this will cure the Plurisie of our State.

Scots Plea, p. 262.

Let us never give over till we have the King in our power; and then he shall see how good Subjects we are. (Delivered in a Sermon.)

Kings Declaration concerning Scotland, page 404.

It is lawful for Subjects to make a Covenant and Combination without the King.

Ibid. p. 409

But to come nearer home; to shew that the whole Gang is of the same Leaven. Worse than all this was dayly printed against the late King, even by those persons that were in pay to the *Presbyterian* Faction; and yet at last those outrages are justified against the *Father*, by such as would be thought Loyal to the *Son*.

If Parliaments think to scape better, they are deceived.

Bancroft, p. 169.

If the Brethren cannot obtain their will by Suit nor disputes, the Multitude and people must do the Feat.

Kings Declaration, 404.

One preached, That though there were never so many

many Acts of Parliament against the Covenant, yet it ought to be maintained against them all.

The Parliament can make no Law at all concerning the Church, but only ratifie what the Church decrees: and after it hath ratified it, yet if the Assembly of the Church shall prohibit it, and repeal that Decree of the Church all the Subjects are discharged from yeilding obedience to that Act of Parliament. Ibid. 408.

An Assembly may abrogate Acts of Parliament if they any may reflect upon business of the Church. Ibid. 411.

Reformation of Religion belongs to the Commonalty. Knox.

Of the Parliament *in the 24 year of the Queen,* (says the Supplication) *if the desired Reformation be not granted,*] There shall not be a man of their seed that shall prosper, be a Parliament-Man, or bear Rule in *England* any more.

Concerning *Laws established*; They Fall in Consequence with the power that makes them.

Presbyterians Opinions of Bishops.

Let us see now with what modesty they treat the *Church*, and first the *Bishops*.

They are Ordinances of the Devil. — *Proud, Popish, presumptuous, prophane, paltry, pestilent, pernicious Prelates and Usurpers* — *Robbers, Wolves, Simoniacks, Persecutors, Sowers of Sedition, Dragons* — (and so to the end of the Chapter.) Bellarmine page 56.

Their Clergie, an Antichristian, Sinnish Rabble. — *The Ministers are neither proved, elected, called, nor ordained according to Gods word.* Ibid. p 58.

The

The Ceremonies — Carnal Beggerly, Antichristian Pomp.

Presbyterian Reformation.

Hitherto the *Faults* of Governours and Government; now their Proposals of *Amendment* and *Reformation*; by what *Rules*, and by what *Means* we may be governed *Better*. Thus then,

Admon. 1. *Let the whole Government of the Church be committed to Ministers, Elders and Deacons.*

Very good; and to whom the Government of the *State*?

Cartwright Why to Them too. *For the Church wherein any Magistrate, King or Emperour is a Member, is divided into sorts that are to Govern; viz. Pastors, Doctors and Elders; and into such as are to obey, viz. Magistrates of all sorts, and the people.*

The Question is next about the Extent of the *Ecclesiastical* Power; and in what manner that Assumption hooks in all Civil Actions within their Cognisance?

Holy Discipline, page 260. *In Ordine ad Spiritualia.* Forsooth; by which Rule nothing scapes them.

'Tis the desire of the *Admonitor*. *That he and his Companions may be delivered by Act of Parliament from the Authority of the Civil Magistrates, as Justices and others, and from their inditings and sinings.*

The Eldership shall suffer no loud customes to remain

main in their Parishes, either Games, or otherwise.] And further, *The Office of the Church-Governors, is to decide Controversies in Doctrine and Manners, so far as pertaineth to Conscience and the Church-censures.*] Ibid. 284. Ibid.

Every Fault (says Cartwright) *that tendeth either to the Hurt of a man's neighbour, or to the hinderance of the glory of God, is to be examined and dealt in by the Orders of the holy Church.*] Nay, *Knox* goes further yet. Ib. 285.

The bare *Suspicion of Avarice, or of Pride, Superfluity, or Riotousness in Chear or Rayment.*] Eves this Nicety falls within their Censure.

Now would I know what need of a *Civil Magistrate*, when even our private thoughts are subjected to the Scrutiny of a *Presbytery*?

But will some say, What signifies the intemperance of Particulars tongues, as to the General of the Party? I am challenged by the Author of the *Interest of England*, to produce their *Actions*: and *That's* my next immediate Business.

The *Presbyter* has now the Chair, see how he manages his Greatness. None of that Tyranny ye found in *Bishops*, I warrant ye: no *groaning* now under the Yoke of *Antichrist*; the intolerable burthen of *canonical Subscription*; *the Imposition of Ceremonies, properly sacred*; *the Injunction of the Cross in Baptism*; *and that abominable Idol, the Common-Prayer.*

Some *words* perhaps may slip unwarily; that might have been as well let alone, but alas good people, they mean no harm. *Suppose that some of this way were guilty of some provoking forward-* Inter. of Engl. part 2. p. 81.

ness,

ness should grave Patriots, and wise Counsellors, thereupon destroy the weak Party, or rather heal it? Tis indeed possible that in the heat of a Reforming and Spiritual Zeal, they may have let fall Speeches of holy Indignation against the opposers of the * *LORDS ORDINANCE*: But have they shewed their disaffection either to * *King or Parliament, by any thing discernable in their outward behaviour?* have they controlled the Law of the Land, or the *inst Liberty* of the People?

* By which term they difference their Classical Approbation, from Episcopal Ordination.

If they have *not* done all this, there's a great failing both in our Stories, and our Memories. I know 'twill be objected, they *Petition'd*, and in a supplicant and humble way, suitable to the duty of good Subjects. They did *Petition*; and in this manner — (about the 22. of the *Queen*.)

* Inter. of Engl. Par. 2. p. 57.

May it please your Majesty, &c. — That it may be Enacted, &c. — That the Book hereunto annexed, &c. intituled, A Book of the Form of Common-Prayers, Administration of Sacraments, &c. — and every thing therein contain'd, may be from henceforth authorized, put in ure, and practised throughout all Your Majesties Dominions.

The Reformers way of Petitioning.

Herein they press upon the Nation their *own Form*, which would not yet allow of any *Other*.

What they could not get establish'd by Law, they settle yet by Practice, and privately agree upon a general endeavour to encrease the Party.] But say they should be opposed?

Holy Discipline, p. 100.

Why then have a fling at *Evil Counsellors*. [*If her Majesty give ear to such Counsellors, she may have cause one day to lament.*] Then they *Remonstrate, how miserably poor men have been handled*;]

Bancroft's dangerous Posit. p. 58. Ibid. p. 56.

That

That godly Ministers have been brought before the Bars of Justice;] *and that if this Persecution be not provided for, it is the case of many a thousand in England: great troubles will come of it.*] Ibid. p. 57.

This numerous party will not vary from itself, &c.——*The minds of men are fix'd in this Opinion, and are not like to be reduced to the practise of former times.*] Well said *J. C.* yet, *Thousands* (says another) *do sigh for this Discipline; and ten thousands have sought it.*] *We do protest unto Your Majesty* (say the Supplicators) *that we will be no longer subject unto the Bishops unlawful, and usurped Authority,* &c.——And another. [*The truth will prevail* (speaking of the Discipline) *in spight of your teeth,* (meaning the Bishops) *and all other Adversaries of it.*] Inter. of Engl. p. 29 Ibid. Bancroft pag. 138. Ibid. 11. Pag. 140.

In the late Kings *Declaration concerning the tumults in Scotland:* this way of Petitioning is very frequent: and this is that my friend hints, in saying, *That the Presbyterians have never ceased to sollicite, and supplicate,* &c.] But *Words* draw no *Blood.* Inter. of Engl. p. 53.

'Tis true; but such as these come very near it.

We *phancy* first, defects in Government; *then* we *discourse* them; after *that,* we *propose* a Reformation, which, if rejected, we proceed to *press* it: the next step is a *Threat,* and then a *Blow.*

Where there are failings in Authority, 'tis not for private Persons to take publick notice of them. Whoever does *that,* would *strike,* if he *durst.* This is not meant of every slip in common discourse, either of *Heat,* or *Inadvertency;* (yet that is very ill too) but of deliberate Affronts; such as proceed from a form'd *Habit* of Irreve-

rance; and in that Case, I think 'twere no hard measure, if he that sam his hand to the King's dishonour, should lose his Head for't.

Take it at worst. Put case a Prince *Misgoverns*, yet we are sure, that his *Superior* does not; and that respect we cannot pay to his *failings*, we must allow to his *Commission*. From *Words*, proceed we now to *Actions*.

Presbyterian Practices toward their

SOVEREIGN.

THe *Presbyterian* is no sooner in the Saddle, but (in the name of *Reformation*) how the man Gallops! *Kings*, *Parliaments*, *Laws* and *Liberties*, *Oaths* and *Covenants*, are but as feathers in his way.

I shall not clog this Section with many Instances. The Traiterous actings of the *Conventicle* at *Glasgow*, in 1638. the horrid outrages that usher'd it, and the most deplorable consequences that ensu'd upon it, contain enough to brand that Faction to eternity.

I shall the rather fix *there*, because it brings the Case home; and first, in regard that the *Schismaticks* of both Nations acted by the same tie of Oath and Interest. Next, as it is the Model, they have made the people swear they would be damn'd by. Some of their many Insolencies are these.

I. *The Assembly is Independent either from King or Parliament, in matters Ecclesiastical.*

II. *It is lawful for Subjects to Covenant and Combine without the King, and to enter into a Bond of mutual defence against him.*

III. *An Assembly may abrogate Acts of Parliament, and discharge their fellow-Subjects from obedience to them, if they any way reflect upon the business of the Church.*

IV. *They deny the King's right of Calling or Dissolving Assemblies, and they continue to Sit and Act, notwithstanding his Majesties express Order for their Dissolution.* (See the King's Declaration.)

Positions of the Conventicle at *Glasgow*, *An.* 1638.

These Rebellious proceedings are yet darkned by the transcending Usurpations that followed them. But here I am bounded; this only I may say;

Whoever has a mind to run the extremities of another War, and to see another King murther'd; let him give his Vote for Presbytery.

And here let every man look behind him, and lay his finger on his mouth.

As the *Geneva*-Discipline is injurious to *Kings*, and stated *Laws*, so it is most ridiculously tyrannous to the *People*. *A great uproar arising in* Edinburgh *about the making of a* Robin-Hood, *they of the Consistory did excommunicate the whole Multitude.*] 'Tis a strange tenderness possesses these Saints. *One of them being in Christen a child, brake off in the middle of the Action, because he would not call it* Richard.]

Presbytery tyrannous to the People.

Bancroft p. 20.

Ib. p. 105.

Presbyters persecutors of K. James.

I suppose no man knew this kind of Cattel better than King James, who perfecuted (says that learned Prince) by Puritans not from my Birth only, but even four Months before my Birth.] And to Prince Henry Thus.

K. James his works: p. 305. Ib. p. 160.

"Take heed to such Puritans, very Pests in the Church and Common-weal, whom no deserts can oblige, neither Oaths or Promises binds, breathing nothing but Sedition and Calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the word) the square of their Conscience. I protest before the great God, and since I am here as upon my Testimony, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye shall never find with any Highlands or Border-thieves greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these Phanatique Spirits. And I think every man may say as much that hath but known them.

The Antiquity of Phanaticks.

We are at length by Gods great mercy, delivered from those Evangelical Impostors; and after all our wandrings, brought once again into the Channel. We have our Prince, our Laws, our Prevalent, our Interest lies before us; and certainly we cannot be so mad as now to dash a second time upon the same Rock: Yet they shall leave nothing for want of offering at it.

The Arguments of 1641. are set on foot again: The very same with Cartwright's (that Car-

Confessorian Patriarch, as Bancroft terms him) nay, they are advanc'd already beyond pleading of their Cause, to pressing of it, by sawcy Importunities, and peremptory threatnings.

From what I have deliver'd, it cannot be deny'd, but their Positions are destructive to all Civil Government: And for their Practices, the story is written in Blood.

This might suffice to end the Controversie concerning *Reason of State*: for certainly a Faction so Principled, cannot with safety to the Publick be incorporated into any Politick Constitution. But I shall add some further Reasons, why by no means they are to be admitted.

Reasons against Coalition.

1. *They're a Party never to be gain'd by Obligations; and this is manifest from their proceedings toward the late King, whose most unhappy tenderness of Nature cost him his Life. And at this instant, that irreclaimable ingratitude is more clear toward his Majesty in being, whose unexampled Mercy so much galles in them, is converted to his Dishonour and Destruction.*

2. *They ground their claim upon the Equity of their Cause; which if allow'd, by the same reason they may serve this King as they did his Father.*

3. *Their Demands are* Endless; *or rather* Groundless; *and it is not prudent ill to grant any thing to a Faction, that will be satisfied with nothing. For it is but* Giving them a power to Take the rest.

4. *They* Expostulate; *and what they get upon these Terms, they look upon rather as a* Submission *than a* Concession. *The very manner of their*

Address has a spice of Mutiny *in it; and they will hardly make an honest use, of what they compass by dishonest means.*

5. *It is not adviseable to encourage Tumultuary Combinations, by Rewarding them.*

6. *The Dispute is not so much what their* Consciences *will* Bear; *as what their* Importunities *can* Obtain; *and to feel the* Pulse *of the Supreme Authority.*

In fine, It is a contest betwixt the Law *and a* Faction, *and a fair step toward a new Rebellion.*

So much for *Reason of State.*

Now to the *Justice* of their Pretences. The Quære is,

Whether in Justice or Reason of State the Presbyterian *Party should be Rejected and Depressed, or Protected and Incouraged.*

'Tis one thing what the *King* may *do* in point of *Justice*, and another thing what the *Presbyterians* may *demand* upon that score.

There is a *Justice* of *Conscience*, *Honour*, and of *Prudence*.

Justice of Conscience. By the *First*: His Majesty is ty'd up in common with the meanest of his Subjects. That is, if the King find himself in Conscience bound to maintain Episcopacy in the state he found it, (Legally settled) he is not free to alter it.

Justice of Honour. In point of *Honor*: There's more Liberty; and whatever the King does in that particular, is well done. But his Majesty not having as yet declar'd him-

himself; what do we know, how far even upon that Point he may concern himself to reject the *Presbyterian*? Demands? Partly out of *Reverence* to his Royal *Father*; in part, out of a Princely Strictness to his own *Dignity*: and partly out of a Generous tenderness toward his Ruin'd Party.

First, as to what may seem relating to His Majesty's *Father*.

That which these people urge, is what the late King chose, rather to Die, than Grant: which in His Ἐικὼν Βασιλικῆ is intimated in these words.

In these two Points, the preservation of establish'd Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honor of a kind of Martyrdom, as to the testimony of my own Conscience, the troublers of My Kingdoms, having nothing to object against me but this, that I prefer Religion and Laws established, before these alterations they propounded. Ἐικὼν Βασιλικῆ, pag. 239.

Every word hath its weight, which fell from the Pen of that pious and judicious Prince. Nor can I over-pass a Caution of his learned Fathers; when I consider the sum of their Proposals, which in effect is but a condemnation of the late *King*, in the bold, needless justification of *Themselves*. These are the words.

As for offences against your own Person and Authority, since the fault concerneth your self, I remit to your own choice to punish or pardon therein as your heart serveth you, and according to the K. James his works, P. 857.

circumstances of the turn; and the quality of the Committer.

Here would I also eike another Crime to be unpardonable, if I should not be thought partial: But the Patherly love I bear you, will make me break the bounds of shame, in opening it unto you. It is then, the false and unreverent writing, or speaking of malicious men against your Parents and Predecessors. And a little further.

It is a thing monstrous to see a Man love the Child, and hate the Parents: as on the other part, the infaming and making odious of the Parents, is the ready way to bring the Son into contempt. And for conclusion of this Point, I may also alledge my own experience: for besides the judgements of God, that with mine eyes I have seen fall upon all them that were chief Traytors to my Parents, I may justly affirm, I never found yet a constant biding by me in all my straits, by any that were of perfect age in my Parents days; but only by such as constantly bode by them; I mean, specially by them, that served the Queen my Mother; for so that I discharge my Conscience to you, my Son, in revealing to you the truth, I care not what any Traitor, or Treason-allower, think of it.

The late Kings Counsels.

Thus far his Majesty may finde himself concern'd in *Honour* to his Fathers Ashes: now to his dying-*Counsels*.

Take

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying Ends in any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion contrary to what in our Judgement, and the Church will settle. Eikon Basil. page 236.

I cannot yet learn that Lesson; nor I hope ever will you, that it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publick Interest, and the good of the Community. Ib. p. 239.

What in effect do these people now desire, but that his Majesty would rather take their Counsel then his Fathers? In the next page the King expresses a more then ordinary earnestness in these words:

My Counsel and Charge to you is, That you seriously consider the former real or objected miscarriages, which might occasion my troubles, that you may avoid them. Ib. p. 240.

Herein his Majesty is tacitely conjured against them; it being a most notorious Certainty, that *The late King lost both his Crown and Life by over-granting.* The now-pretended Cause of the quarrel was not mentioned till after the War was begun; the colour of raising an Army, being to fetch in Delinquents. *After which* (says his Majesty) *among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, the abolition of Episcopal, and the establishment of Presbyterian Government.* Eikon Basil. page 61.

As

As to the point of *Imperial Honor*, wherein his Majesty may possibly concern himself more immediately; it is a high excess of goodness to make his Favours *common*, where they are look'd upon so *cheap*; (as here, witness these dayly new Transgressions since his most gratious Pardon:)

Ibid. page 169. [*Some men* (says the late King) *have that height, as to interpret all fair Condescentions, as Arguments of Feebleness; and glory most in an unflexible Stiffness when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.*]

There remains yet a *third* Question under this Head of *Honour*; that is, *How far his Majesties* Generosity *may extend it self in Favour and Protection of those Persons that have serv'd him through all extremities, till they have nothing left them beyond the hopes of honourable Epitaphs.*

These people have *Consciences* too; a sense of *Duty* and *Religion*. They reverence the *Episcopal Order*; and *That*, which through the sides of *Bishops* was equally wounded, The Order of *Kings*. At last, those that *subverted* the former, and *usurped* the latter, demand (I think in reparation of their hazards) a *Presbyterian Government*. In which particular, our Duty teaches us not to direct our Master: onely we take a sober Freedom to answer our Accusers; and to profess to all the world, that those who fought *For King* and *Bishops*, were in our Opinion as honest men at least as they that fought *against them*.

To

To his Majesties *honourable* Consideration, I think in this point we may claim a Right. We have suffered for and with his Royal Father and Himself; and the main Justice of the Cause betwixt the King and those that serv'd him, is in the the same thing: so that whoever strikes at Us, wounds our Sovereign.

Lastly, There is a *Justice of Pleading*, wherein a man may frame a thousand Reasons against the *Encouraging* of the *Elsewhereans*, but speculative and airy Notions, but close and pinching *Reasons*, grounded upon weighty *Authority* and a never-failing course of long *experience*. (Yet not to dictate to his Majesty, to whose Will we submit our Reasonings.)

First all their *Desires* were Modestie it self, yet of promoting themselves too rude and positive; they *Preach* and *Print* their Grievances, which is the way rather to stir a *Faction*, then allay a *Scruple*. *Lord*, (says Mr. *Milward*) give us the *Liberty of the Gospel before we go hence*, and we see no more soon. As if *Episcopacy* were *Paganism*. 'Tis dangerous to *provoke severe*, to those that are too much. How do I reverence the Divine Spirit of his late Majesty,

The great Miscarriage I think is, that popular Humours and Fury had been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publick safety so much made to please some parties, hath indeed injured all.

And again: *Take such a course as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality; or so order affairs in point of power, that you shall not need to*

The King's Declaration concerning the Holy Communion, Baptism, Preaching, Lecturers, Universities, Printing, Churches, Church-Government, Ecclesiastical Courts, Uniformity, Conformity, Subscription, Ceremonies, Vestments, Kneeling, Bowing, Holy-days, Fasting-days, Profaneness, Sabbath, Recreations, Sports, Pastimes, Dancing, Drinking, Swearing, Quarrelling, Fighting, Duelling, Gaming, Cards, Dice, Bowling, Cock-fighting, Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Stage-plays, Interludes, Masques, Revels, Wakes, Whitsun-ales, Morris-dances, Hock-carts, Mayings, Shearings, Feasts, Church-ales, Bride-ales, Clerk-ales, Bid-ales, Drinkings, Christenings, Churchings, Burials, Churchyards

fear or flatter any Faction: for if ever you stand in need of them, or most stand to their courtesie, you are undone. The Serpent will devour the Dove. You may never expect less of Loyalty, Justice or Humanity, then from those who engage into Religious Rebellion: their Interest is always made Gods. Under the colours of Piety, ambitious Policies march, not onely with greatest security, but applause, it is to be popular. You may hear from them Jacob's voice, but you shall feel they have Esau's hands.

To what I have said, I shall be bold to adde a *Justice of Proportion*; and thereupon two Questions.

1. Why should the *Presbyterians*, a *small irregular Party*, pretend to give the Law to the *Supreme Authority*, the *established Constitution*, and incomparably the *greater* part of the Nation?

2. Why should those people, that with a more then Barbarous Rigour prest the Covenant; *ejecting, sequestring, imprisoning* such as refused to take it, and without Mercy or Distinction:— Those that in publick barr'd *Non-Covenanters* the Holy Communion in express Terms with *Adulterers*, *Slanderers* and *Blasphemers*; affirming in the Pulpit, *That all the Non-Subscribers to the Covenant were Atheists*.—Why should (I say) those people that with so unlimited a Tyranny imposed upon the Nation a Rebellious League, to the Engagement of their *Souls* in *taking* it, their *Liberties* and *Fortunes* in refusing:—I say yet once again, Why should those people now at last demand an interest in that Government, which

The late King's Declaration concerning Scotland, page 104.

which Root and Branch they have laboured to extirpate? Or with what Face can they pretend a Right to an *Authority*, where but by Mercy they have none to *Lift*? (I speak of these late Libellers, and their Abettors.)

Let me be understood likewise by *Presbyterians*, to intend those of the *Scotish* Race, to whom we are beholden for our *Discipline*. That *Faction* first advanced it self by popular *Tumult* and *Rebellion*. *Knox* learned the trick on't at *Geneva*, and brought it into *Scotland*. We had our Agents too, that did as much for us. These Fellows conferr'd Notes, set the Wheel going, and we were never perfectly quiet since.

Upon the whole matter aforegoing, (in the Gentleman's own words) *we firmly hold this Position*,

That the Presbyterian Party ought not, either in Justice or Reason of State, in any wise to be encouraged, but rather rejected: Neither ought they to be protected in any Inconformity to the Law, but rather totally depressed.

His second *Quere* is soon dispatch'd: *viz.*

II Qu. *Whether the* Presbyterian *Party may be protected and incouraged, and the Episcopal not deserted nor disobliged?*

First, many things are *possible*, which are neither *Just* nor *Rational*; and therefore it matters not much to allow it the *One*, if I prove it not to be the *Other*. Imagine such a Contemperation of

Episcopal

Episcopal and *Presbyterian* pretences, as might atone their present Disagreements, yet where's the *King*? The Interest that's *principal* in the *Concern*, is not so much annamed in the *Question*. The Quarrel was about the *Militia*, not *Lawn-sleeves*; and the *Royal* Party is to be taken in, as well as the *Episcopal*.

The truth of it is, This Gentleman does not finde it convenient at present to move an utter Extirpation of Bishops; but he proposes That, which granted, would most infallibly produce it. A *Confederation*, forsooth; that for the better credit of the Project shall be called a *Regulated Episcopacy*; which in good honest *English* is next door to a *Tyrannical Presbytery*. In fine,

The Episcopal Authority is deserted and disobliged, by the admittance of a Presbyterian Competition.

Yet pardon me, I have found a way to reconcile them; *Make but these squabling* Presbyterians, Bishops, *and the work's done*: as *Presbyters* they are *encouraged*; and (I dare say) not *disobliged*, as *Bishops*. The plague of it is, there's neither *Justice* nor *Reason of State* for't; and so we are where we were again.

We shall make short work too with his Third Question; for in effect it spells just nothing.

III. Qu. *Whether the Upholding of both parties by a just and equal accommodation, be not in it self more desirable, and more agreeable to the State of* England, *than the absolute exalting of the one party, and the total subversion of the other.*

I

I must needs take notice here of two *Mistakes*, the one in *propriety* of Language, viz. *the upholding of both Parties*. One of those Parties is not *up*, and cannot be *upheld*. The other shifts the Question, and states the difference betwixt the EXALTATION *of the one*, and the SUBVERSION *of the other*; when all that we desire is but to keep both where they were, without *advancing* or *depressing* either.

If they have any Title to the interest they challenge, the same had *Cromwel* to the *Crown*. This Question must be better stated, before we think it worth an Answer.

One Reflection now upon the whole.

Here's *Exaltation*—and *Subversion*;—but not a syllable of *Tolerotian*: and what's the Reason of all this? They are afraid that would be granted; and how should they do then to pick a Quarrel? Their way is never to be satisfied in *Conscience*, with what the King can give in *Honour* and *Reason*. (His Sacred Majesties Observation.) *A grand Maxime with them was always to ask something which in Reason and Honour must be deny'd, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted, setting Peace at as high a rate as the worst effects of War.*] I have cited this already; but every Line drawn by that Hand deserves to be repeated. Ἐικὼν Βασιλ. page 170.

To this, there is another end that's common to the Gang; which is, to draw an *odium* upon one Party, and a *compassion* toward the other.

And

And o'her end then this do I see none at all, in his *absolute retaining*, — and *total subversion*. We cover no Change, but desire the contrary. How little soever it may appear to *our* purpose, 'tis very much to *theirs*, to have the people understand by *Absolute Retaining*, — the dangerous and intolerable *pride* of *Bishops*; and by their *total subversion*, on the other side, how sadly the world goes with the *The Professors of the Gospel*.

These trivial appearances have more weight then commonly the world imagines. *'Tis not so much* (as *Hooker* says) *how small the spark is that flyeth up, as how apt thing about it are to take fire.* Their business is to stir the affections of the common people, which must be done by means and ways, to wise men, in themselves *ridiculous*, but in their Applications, of most desperate effect.

I speak in earnest; that very Tone they use in Preaching, that *Fellow-feeling-Tone*, (as they would have it understood) is I believe of great use to their business. I have observed the *Grants* that follow the *Ahi-mee's*; and beyond doubt those snivelling Affectations are not without their benefit. That 'tis a forc'd and acted passion, is evident in this; they almost all of them use the same Emphasis.

I would not for my Hand let fall a syllable should cast a scandal upon that holy Ordinance; and with my Soul I reverence the grave Clergie. VVe cannot attribute enough to God; assume too little to our selves. We cannot be too much afflicted for our sins, nor too sensible of our own unworthiness. Yet I suppose a fit Christian sorrow may be contain'd within such terms as to

reach

reach *Heaven*, without disturbing the *Congregation*. To come to a Church-door and hear an Out-cry, as if a man were cutting for the Stone; and what's all this, but an afflicted Pastor mourning for those heavy Judgements that hang over the Land because of Common-Prayer! And then the Sisters groan so ruthfully, you'd swear five hundred Women were in Labour. Away with these Ostentations of Holiness: —— But first away with the *Discourse* of them.

I must confess, the Gentleman hath offered fair, and more I doubt then he can undertake for, were it accepted. What if Six Presbyterians of Seven *renounce* his *declaration*, and say he treated without Commission? Where's his Pacifick *Coalition* then? 'Tis for a Party they struggle; which when they have got, they shall as much contest among themselves to crush again as ever they did to introduce it. Just thus was the King treated: He was to rule in *Consociation* too, by the *advice* of his Presbyters. And what came on't? The Factions interfer'd; the Change went round the Circle; and at long-length, in the place of a most *gracious Prince*, up starts a most *Tyrannical Protector*.

And yet I verily think, a way might be found out to work upon these people. Let the King settle their strict Form of Discipline; fill the Presbyteries with Episcopal Divines, and Elders of his own Party; I verily believe these very men would be as hot for Bishops. I cannot comprehend the temper of that *Sacrilegious Tenderness* that makes men *Digest* Bishops *Lands*, and yet forsooth they cannot *swallow* the *Sleeves*.

Onely this word. Some of the Authors I have quoted *for Episcopacy*, (to deal sincerely) may be as well produc'd *against* it. For That, let them look to't, I am innocent, and my Cause clearer for it. They found it for their interest to engage their Disciples in many Opinions, which for their Honour they would not undertake to defend against their Equals.

I Should end here, were I not drawn out beyond my purpose by a *Second Part* from the same Hand, which should not yet divert me from my first intention, could I but save my self in letting it absolutely alone. By the Formalities of *Title* and *Connexion*, it seems related to the former part, further then by some passages in the Treatise it appears to be, wherein some few I am concern'd to examine, and I shall shorten even that little I intend, as much as possible. He calls it,

A Deliberative Discourse:

P R O V I N G,

That it is not agreeable to sound Reason to prefer the contracted and dividing Interest of one Party, before the general Interest of Protestantism, *and of the whole Kingdom of* England, *in which the* Episcopal *and* Presbyterian *Parties may be happily united.*

Observation We are agreed in as but the *Main*, and as to That, I have already shew'd, that in the Subject

ject of our Difference, the *Presbyterian Party*, (that is the *Kirk-party*) is divided from the *Protestants*; so that unless it can be made out, by the Judgement of the *Reformed Churches*, that *Prelacy* is *Antichristian*, and that *Instituted Ceremonies* are *Unlawful*, the Author of this *Deliberation* overthrows himself by his own Argument, of preferring *the general Interest* of Protestantism, *before the contradicted and dividing Interest of our Party*. We should not take in *Discipline* within the pale of *Religion*, but against That Party, which reckons it an *essential* Mark of the *Church*. And let them take their choice, whether it shall be accounted among things *indifferent* or *necessary*: if the *former*, *obey the imposition*; if the *latter*, let them produce their *Authority*.

The *Foundation* being mis-laid, the *Building* will hardly stand; or, which is worse, it falls upon the Builder.

He says, His Aim is *Unity*; and truly so is mine: but *Unity* in such a Composition will never set us right. Two may agree in the same point of Verity; but then that Truth must for it self be entertain'd, without considering one another. If about any thing *Material* we differ, flee to the *Judge of Truth*, the *Scriptures* and the *Church*; if about less and common matters, go to the *Rule* of *Duty*, (in such cases) the setled *Law*. But I forget my self.

It must needs be (says the *Deliberator*) *the Wisdom of this State to sum her all dividing Factions, and to abolish all partial interests, that the common interest of* England *may be alone exalted.* Page 14.

Observation. I hope he does not mean by *State*, the *Keepers of the Liberties*; if the *Supreme Authority* of this Nation as it is legally vested in the King, the Man has kill'd himself. What are *dividing Factions*, but such Parties as start from that common Rule, the Law, which every State is bound upon a Principle of *Policy* and *Honour*, to preserve sacred and inviolable?

The best Rul of Interest is the Law.

The Law is but the *Wisdome* treasur'd up of many Ages; ——— onely an amass of all those Lights which long *Experience*, strict *Search* and *Industry*, and many Consultations of great Statesmen, have given to the Discovery of our true Interest. Great Reason is there to approve so great *Authority*; and as great Shame it were not to avow what we our selves have done, (the Law being but an universal Vote) beside the penalty of *Disobedience*. How *Mad* then, how *Ignoble*, and how *Desperate* shall we esteem that Faction that breaks through all these bonds of *Reverence*, *Honour*, and *prudential Security*, to force that Sanctuary, wherein, as *Christians*, and as *Men*, we have repos'd; first, the Protection of our *Religion*, ——— and then the Assurance of our Lives and Fortunes?

From such Dividers, Heaven *deliver* us first, and then *preserve* us.

Page 36. *All Enterprizes* (says our Author very rationally) *that have their beginning in Judgement, and not in Passion, are directed to a certain end set up as a mark; and that end is not a business at Revers, but some particular steady issue of things certainly or probably apprehended and expected:*

where-

wherefore let wise men consider the mark wherein they level, and to what issue and state of things their actions tend.

Most certain 'tis, without that *mark* men go they know not whither. *First* the *End*, *then* the *Way*, is (I suppose) the common Method of all *wise men*: and his advice to *such*, to look before them, might have been spared; they would have don't without it. Now to his Business: but first, I'll clear the way to't. The *Question* is, Observation

Whether the fomenting of these Discords, (viz. in matters of Discipline) *do not proceed from a carnal design?* And he debates the matter with the *Episcopalians*. Page 33.

Here is a numerous Party, not of the dregs and refuse of the Nation, but of the judicious and serious part thereof. What will they do with them? and how will they order the matter concerning them? Would they destroy them? I solemnly profess, that I abhor to think so by the generality of the Episcopal perswasion: I would disdain to mention such an unreasonable impiety, were it not to shew the inconsiderate and absurd proceedings of an unalterable opposition, as that it cannot drive to any formed end and issue. That Protestants should destroy Protestants for dissenting in the point of Ceremonies, and sole Jurisdiction of Bishops; is so dreadful a violation of Charity and common Honesty, that it is a most uncharitable and dishonest thing to suppose it of them. What then? would they beat them down, or keep them under hard con- Page 36.

ditions? Shall all persons that cannot yield exact obedience to Ecclesiastical Injunctions concerning all the parts of the Liturgie and Ceremonies, be suspended and deprived, as formerly? Shall Ministers of ebby Judgement be cast out of Ecclesiastical Preferment and Employment? Shall all private Conventicles of godly peaceable Christians, for mutual edification, be held unlawful Conventicles? It hath been thought by wise men to be against the Rules of Government, to hold under a rigid yoke a free people, of such a number and quality, and intermingled in all estates and ranks, and intimately conjoyned with all parts of the Body Politick, that it is almost impossible to exclude their interest from a considerable share in publick Actions.

Observation We are so often told of this *judicious serious Party*, pray let's allow them to be a Company of very fine Gentlemen, and mind out business. I think he says they are *numerous* too: So were the *Frogs that came into the Kings Chamber*: and what of that?

In good truth all together, it is a very pretty *Anagram* of *Sedition*. If it wants any single Circumstance that's needful to procure a Tumult, I am exceedingly mistaken.

Mark it, here's *Number*, *Conduct*, and Pretence of *Right*, to *Imbolden*, and to *Fire* the *Multitude*. Then, to *Provoke*, and *Heighten* them: old Sores are rub'd; they are minded how they were used so long ago; and hinted yet of worse behind, if they have not a care betimes. What is all this to say? but,

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen, you remember how it was with you formerly; if you have a mind to pay more of That, so. But things are well enough yet; there are those will stand by you that know what they have to do, and know to make their hearts ake.-- Why it is against all Rule of Government, to put this Yoke upon a Free People.——

If the Author be within hearing, he should do well to be his own Expositor. In the mean while, compare we the Gloss with the Text.

He speaks now in his own words, which the Reader may finde by conferring them with the entire matter of the last Quotation, to be extracted with the strictest justice to his meaning.

Here is (says he) *a numerous Party of the judicious and serious part of the Nation; what will they* (the Episcopalians) *do with them? &c. would they destroy them? &c. I solemnly profess, that I abhor to think so of the generality of the Episcopal persuasion, &c. Shall they be suspended and deprived, as formerly? Shall all private Conferences of godly peaceable Christians, for mutual edification, be held unlawful Conventicles? It hath been thought by wise men to be against the Rules of Government, to hold under a Rigid Yoke a Free People of such a Number and Quality.*——

This is cutting of a mans throat with a Whetstone. Truly *Horace* his saying would sound very well from this Gentleman.

——Pungor vice Cotis acutus
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exors ipsa secandi.

My Office is to *Whet*, not *Cut*.

To tie him up now to his own Philosophy, which is, (according to his fore-alledged Position) that *all Rational Enterprises propose some certain End; unto which ends, all wise men conform their mediate Actions.* If it be so (as we are agreed upon it) then by that very Reason which directs him to chuse the *means*, are we enabled likewise to guess the *end*.

His *End*, he says, is *Peace*; and in this Treatise he hath chalk'd his way to't: He's a *wise man* and certainly proceeds in order to *the Mark he levels* at. Let him be Judge by his own Rule.

The Presbyterian Method of making Peace.

To mind the peevish old Grievances, and in so doing to transport the honest with a just sense of new indignities; Is this the way of Peace?

To break a solemn Law; that Law that saved the Breakers of it; to abuse the Mercy of that Prince that made it; and to traduce the Government of his Father, whom they themselves destroyed; and which is worse, to justifie all this: Is this the way of Peace?

To startle the mad brutish Rabble with dangerous apprehensions; to lay the justice of their Cause before them; and when they are ripe for mischief, to shew them Men and Arms:——Is this the way of Peace?

——Then let me learn which is the

Traveller

Shall Protestants destroy Protestants, (says he) *for dissenting in the point of Ceremonies?* No, but the *Law* shall destroy *Subjects* for attempting to Rule their *Governours.*

Touching their *Conventicles,* since they fall in my way, I think of them, as of the Painter's *Bad God* that made a *Good Devil.* I take them to be none of the best *Churches,* but for ough, I know, they may make excellent——

I beg ye onely to observe now, the *equity* of these good Folks.

Is it for the service of Christ, and the encrease of his Kingdom the Church, that so many able Divines should be debarr'd the use of the Lords Talents, that so many laborious Ministers should sit still in silence; that when Christ teacheth us to pray that the Lord would thrust forth Labourers into his Harvest, those Labourers should be thrust out of his Harvest? Surely this would make a cry in the ears of the Lord of the Harvest. Page 38.

Do none of the *Woes* in the Gospel belong to this talker of it? The service of God went merrily on, in the *Through Reformation,* did it not? when not a Minister kept his Living but to the hazard of his Soul; and in several places (where the allowance was small) neither *Sacrament* nor *Sermon* for divers years together. But in those days, the Covenant kept all in good order. *Observation*

VVith what a monstrous confidence does this man press a *Text,* which the whole Nation knows is clear against him! And all in Scripture-phrase, forsooth: *Ne sine formâ tantum scelus fiat,* for the

the honour of the exploit. These people use *Religion*, as your *London* Cooks do their pickled *Barberries*: they *garnish* with it. It serves for every thing: I know not how it is, but they do't, because they find the women like it.

When the *Episcopal*, and loyal *Clergy*, their *Wives*, *Children*, and *Families* were swept entirely away by that *SCOTCH PLAGUE* the *COVENANT*; That made no cry sure *in the cars of the Lord of the Harvest*. Let the Great Judge of all the World determine it.

Page 39. *If the neglect of brotherly Pacification held on, and the Hierarchy resolve upon their own advancement to the highest pitch, one may well conclude, that they make a full reckoning to wear out* Presbyterians, *and to swallow up their Interest, conceiving they are able to effect it by degrees; and that greater changes than these have been wrought without much ado.*

Observation Let but the meanest Soul alive now judge of these mens Consciences. (I speak of those that tumult since the *Act of Pardon*.) As deep a forfeiture as ever was made by mortals, the King hath remitted to them. They have cost the Nation more then they have left it worth; beside the *Blood*, the *Grief*, and *Desolation* they have brought upon it. This notwithstanding, they have at this Instant the self-same Interest they ever had, as to *Freedom* and *Safety*, and otherwise *more*? They keep what they got; beg, and get more; and are not yet content unless they Govern too. But this is but another Alarm, as

who

who should say; *Look to your selves my Masters*: lose not an Inch, for if you do, they'll do your Business *by degrees*.

By and by, among other concurring advantages, to the great Changes Queen *Elizabeth* wrought in Religion, he reckons this for one,

Popery (says he) *being in subst ance a Religion contrary to what was publickly professed, had no advantage for encrease by publick Preaching, or Books publickly allowed.* Page. 42.

Nothing more certain then that the Freedom of the *Press* and *Pulpit*, is sufficient to embroyl the best ordered Government in the World. *Observation*

All Governments have their *Disorders* and their *Malecontents*: The *One* makes use of the *Other*, and here's the ground of all Rebellions. Some *Real faults* are first found and laid open to the People, which, if in matter of popular Freedom, or Religion; so much the stronger is the Impression, the vulgar being naturally stubborn, & superstitious. Bring it to this, a very little Industry carries it on at pleasure. They shall believe Impossibilities, act eagerly, they know not what, nor why; and while they reach at *Liberty*, grasp their own *Fetters*. Their unhappiness is, they can better *Phansy* a Government without any faults, then *brook* one that hath *some*. Add but to this distemper, Licentious Pamphlets and seditious Sermons; the World shall never keep that people quiet.

Wherefore since on all hands it is agreed, that *Printing*, and *Preaching*, in opposition to a *publick*

lick establishment, are of so dangerous consequence; by the force of the Gentlemans own Rule we ought to hear no more of their Discipline from the *Press* or *Pulpit*. *Observe his next coherence.*

Page 42. *There are now in* England *thousands of Ministers dissatisfied in the* Hierarchy *and* Ceremonies, *who are all competently and many of them eminently learned. They are not generally of light spirits, but steddy and well resolved, and tenderly affected touching their spiritual Liberties.*

Observation Take notice first, how many, and how resolute they are. That is, take notice again, for we have had it exceeding often. His *Resolute thousands* make me think of the Tribes repairing to *David*. But they are dissatisfied, he sayes: it may be 'tis because they are not *Bishops*: Yet truly if they be so well resolved, methinks they should not be dissatisfi'd with that they cannot help. I'll ask but two Questions, and I have done.

1 Chr. 12.

1. *Are any of those* Tender-conscienc'd *thousands that are so tenderly affected toward spiritual Liberties, those Presbyterians that denyed the King the freedom of his own Chaplains?*

2. *Had any of these eminently* learned *thousands a hand in the Assemblies Letter to the Reformed Churches of* France, *the* Low-Countries, &c.——(as great a Schism in *Learning*, as the other was in *Religion*.) *He comes now to the Point indeed.*

Com-

Commonly (saies he) *those people who try all Doctrines by Scripture, and are swayed more by its Authority than by the Ordinances and Customs of men, do much beware and stagger concerning the sole Jurisdiction of Bishops, the pomp of the Hierarchy, and sacred mysticall Ceremonies of humane Institution. And therefore let the Episcopal Party never look to be rid of these difficulties, till they remove the matters in Question, wherein a knowing people are always ready to stumble.* Page 43.

Go to them, since the Gentleman will have it so, grant for dispatch the thing he presses, to wit, —— that they do *Hesitate*, and *Stagger*. 'Tis hard, that when upon a private scatch, the Question hangs in Balance, the casting in the Authority of the Church, and the great weight of Christian Charity, should not be yet enough to turn the Scale. *He that doubts, Sir*, will not excuse that man, who because *he thinks he stands*, refuses to take heed of falling. *Observation*

But let him *doubt*, nay more, let him *resolve*; all is but for *himself* still, not for *me*. When he comes once to muster up his Thousands, and talk of parties, his plea of Conscience is gone; and doubtless these Violent and publick Ticklers for the Scrupulous, (that is, in such and such particulars) are the greatest enemies they have. It casts a Scandal upon the very cause of Conscience, when those who evidently want it in themselves, plead for it in others. Upon this Subject exceedingly well saies Mr. *Lloyd* in a late Treatise of *Primitive Episcopacy*, Pag. 80. *It becomes not good*

men

man to censure us for using those Rites and Ceremonies which we are perswaded not to be prohibited by Gods Law, and both they and we do surely know to be commanded to be used by man's Law duly made, which is Gods Ordinance, to which we must be subject for Conscience sake. And a little after. *If any will attempt to be Authors of Combinations, to extort by shew of multitudes and by tumults, the alteration or abrogation of any part of the established Laws, Civil or Ecclesiastical, they will thereby evidently manifest themselves to be but meer pretenders to a tender Conscience, and power of Godliness; for they that labour to extort a part, if they prevail, must have the whole in their power. And yet they that attempt so great Robbery, love God, and the Power of Godliness? By this cursed fruit, we know these to be most vile Hypocrites.* Now to our Adversary.

The Gentleman desires to clear the Presbyterians of being no *Phanaticks*, and we'll give him the hearing.

Page 54. *It is said that the Presbyterians promoted the Kings Return, not out of good will to His Majesty, or a love of Order, and Unity, but out of fear of being destroy'd by the Phanaticks.* To this I shall say little, but that I believe there was more in't than so. Let him argue upon it.

Ibid. *The pretended reason of their insincerity seems to me to add much to their reputation in that behalf. For if the Phanaticks would destroy them, it is manifest that they are none of them. Phanaticks would not destroy themselves willingly. The several various Sects will wrangle with each other in*

verbal

Observation

The Presbyterians do their own business in the Kings name.

to their Interest, and an equal disadvantage to his own. The King by his expence being grown poor, and they strong by the Delay, was more and more oppressed, till at the last the Field was clear'd: He and His Party in appearance lost.

What did these great Pretenders then for the good of *King* and *Church*, but share the booty, and exercise a Power themselves ten thousand times more Turkish than ever they called that they had abolished? what hindered then the Settlement of this Nation upon its *legal Basis*, (as they phrase it) if the good people had but had a mind to it? Who kept the King from his Parliament? —— or was he ever nam'd but with relation to the loss of *Right* as well as of *Power*?

Well, but at last, these people take their turns too, and then the King's a Gracious Prince again. These Factions are of Kin to *Montaigne* Family, where the Son beats the Father from generation to generation. Now we come near our purpose.

Look back into the *Scotch* defeat in 1648. Not any thing more clear sure, then that the Presbyterian party, would they but frankly have closed with the Kings Tryed Friends in that Engagement; without a Miracle, they must have carried it. Those Few they had, did well-nigh all that was considerable in the Action.

See afterward, in 50, and 51, how dirtily upon this very account, the Presbyterian crew treated his Majesty; and look quite through their *Interregnum*; they have observ'd the same indisposition of uniting with the Kings Party, but still shaking the Head, with an *Alas poor Gentleman*, at the mention of our persecuted Soveraign.

Not

Not to insist upon English Particulars; *They* never would joyn with *Us* to help his *Majesty*, we never refused with them. Now comes the Mystery of the Reserve. Say they,

If we can order Matters so as to get the King's Person *in the hand of us, and keep out his* Party, *Their hands are ty'd by a Principle of Duty; Our Power is enlarged upon an Interest of favour; and we can play our Game as pleasure.* That is; We'll not forget to mind him of his RESTORERS, and now and then a Whisper, how DEBAUCH'D the Gentry's grown; how unfit this man is for *Trust*, that for *Temper*, and a third for *Conduct*.

We may then propose the naming of Officers, and we're to blame if we forget our selves. By these *Degrees*, and *Wayes*, *Time* and a little *Patience* will wear them out; or if it were nothing else, the very *Poverty* we have reduced them to, would make them soon Contemptible.

Whereas should we but offer once a General agreement with that Party, our Design's spoyl'd, for they'll be more than we shall well know how to master. That must not be. Our Interest lyes to take in just so many, as when they have done our Work, we may be able to turn out again. So much for That.

This is the very Soul of the rigid Presbyterians. Poor Worms, *Where is our Charity and Regard* (they cry) *to publick tranquillity, if we reject the sure and only means of Concord?*] Page 60.

He should have rather said, Where is our *Providence*, if we admit so sure an Introduction to Observation

Confusion? To comply with one Importunity of this nature, is to Authorize, and encourage more; and to please all, is totally Impossible.

Page 61. The Cheese stick in his Stomach notably; they force too much, and bring in *Popery*. [*Shall not the Laity be allow'd to search the Scriptures, nor try the Disputes Answered, how acquainted in what their Teachers say, without the Exercise of their own reasoning, or Judgement of Discretion?*]

Observation Yes, let them *search the Scriptures*, as their *Teachers* may the *Laws*; yet by their Leave, the *Church* and *Bench* must interpret them. What difference is there betwixt King *James* his *Phanaticks*, and King *Charles* his; save that they ascribe one and the same Effect to several Causes? Both claiming equal *Certainty*; the *Quakers* from his *Judgement of Discretion*: the *Other*, from *Divine Impulse*. What work shall we have when every Taylour shall with his *Judgement of Discretion* cut out his own Discipline, and fer it up for a Fashion? *When these men and their Bibles are alone together* (as *Hooker* says) what *Phrensies* do they not call directions of the Spirit?

He comes now to the Politicks.

Page 61. *It is a chief point of knowledge in those whose work it is to mould and manage a Nation according to any order of things, to understand what is the temper of the people whom Principles possess and govern them, or considerable Parties of them, and to what pass things are already brought among them.*

The

The more a Prince considers this, the less will he afford a *Scotized English Presbyterian.* By Temper he's *Ambitious*, and *Unthankful*; ever *Craving*, and never *Full*: Govern'd by Principles *Insociable*, and *Cruel*. He rates his Party, his Piety, and his Kindness, twenty times greater than they are, and rather than confess that he is out in his Reckoning, he shall face any other man down that *sue* on the wrong side of a Cipher is 1000. *Observation*

Lastly, in considering to what pass things are brought among them, he will bethink himself likewise how they came to be so.

A State may probably root out such Opinions as it conceives to be heterodox and inconvenient, by using great severity in the beginning, when the Opinions are but newly sowed in mens minds; and the People are of such a nature, as to abhor dangers, and aim to live securely, and when the Nation in general is devoted to the ancient custom of their Fore-fathers. But the same course may not be taken when the Opinions have been deeply rooted and far spread by long continuance, in a Nation of a free spirit; and zealous, and the generality of those, that in a Law-sense are called Cives, *do not detest them.* Page. 63.

Truly in this Case, if Heterodox *Opinions* cannot be rooted out, the *Men* that publickly maintain them, must; and the rather, if they be *free*, and *zealous* for there's the more danger in their further Progress. Especially if such Opinions prescribe from the success of Treason. For There, *Observation*

even in matters of themselves very Allowable, I would not leave the least mark of an approbation. It gives too great an honour to *Rebellion*. Provided always that I act at Liberty, and free from Pre-ingagements.

Where there is such a Real Cause of Fear, as is here shadow'd to us; That Prince that loves his Empire, or his Honour, must struggle with it betimes: *Safety*, or *Pleasure*, such a people perhaps will be content to allow in exchange for Sovereignty: But for the rest, that Prince is lost that puts himself on the Asking side.

It never fails this Rule: *when Subjects unwillingly press for more than they ought, they aim at more yet than they ask.* They are already past their Duty, and short of their Ambition.

In such a Case as That, Rigour is the only Remedy: great Aptness to forgive, is entertain'd with great Proness to offend.

Let it be thought upon; if any Danger, where it lyes: Not in the bare Conceit of Fancy, or Dislike, for, or against the Matter in Dispute, but in the means that give form, growth, and strength to those unquiet Motions; and that assemble those loose scatter'd Sparks into one Flame.

These Instruments are mercenary *Pulpit-men*, and *Scribblers*; 'tis but removing them, and the Danger's over.

Page 65. Lest he should seem to want a Colour for these Freedoms, he tells us that [*the present Age being more discerning, all sorts affect a greater Liberty of Judgment and Discourse, than hath been used in Former times.*] This

This we obſerv'd, but did not till now impute it to *Diſcretion*. Suppoſe they ſhould grow more and more *Diſcerning*, and their Deſires of Liberty grow too; would not theſe People ſoon grow wiſe enough to *Govern*, that are already grown too good to *Obey*? 'Tis dangerous truſting of them; yet he aſſures us otherwiſe. *Obſervation*

This Kingdom, after the removing of ſeundati- Page 66.
ous, is by a marvellous turn re-eſtabliſh'd upon its antient baſis. And verily that which hath wrought the change will ſettle it; that which hath brought ſuch things to paſs, will keep them where they are, if we do not overlook and ſleight it: And what was it, but the conſent of the univerſality, the Vote of all England?

If all that acted toward this late and bleſſed Change meant to Fix here; this needleſs, ill-timed, and dividing Controverſie, concerning Ceremonies, would have been ſpared: and thoſe which move the Queſtion with ſuch earneſtneſs; at their *Prayers*, rather than theſe *Expoſtulations*. *Obſervation*

'Tis an ill Age when Theeves arraign the Law. That ſort of men which ruin'd us, propoſes now that very Method, by which we were deſtroyed, to ſettle us, inviting the diſtemper'd people by this Overture, to take their *Poyſoners* for their *Phyſicians*.

'Tis very true, that (under Providence) it was the Common *Vote*, and ſtirring of the *Nation*, reſtored the *King*, and the *Law*: and ſhall we now reſtrain that Univerſal Comfort to the particu-

1st Advantage of that single Party, that first invaded them? How great a blemish were it to the Honour, and Wisdom of the Nation, after so long, and hard a Tug, to throw away the fruit of the Contest, as if we had wrangled all this while for Shadows? But to explain my self.

They that think matter of *Ceremony* to be the True reason of the Difference on either side, mistake themselves. It is the *Law* it self, which is *assaulted* by the One Party, and *defended* by the Other, in the *Particulars* of *Ceremony*: and it is the King himself that is affronted in the Indignities they cast upon Bishops. To leave the matter clear: There is a Faction, which would overthrow the Law, and set up themselves above it; and these Contrivers put the People upon Cavilling for Ceremonies. *They* innocently, under a mistake of *Conscience*, advance an Interest of *Usurpation*, taking that to be only a Dispute about the Lawfulness of the *Practice*, which nationally pinches upon the validity of the *Power*. It ends in this.

Grant once, that a Popular Vote *may over-rule a* Stated Law, *(though but to the value of a Hair) the vertue of that reason extends to our* Freedoms, Lives, *and* Fortunes, *which by the same Rule they may take away as well as* Ceremonies.

And (as the case stands) *Kings* as well as *Bishops*.

Page 67. But [*seeing this great Revolution hath not happened by the prevailing force of one Party, but by the unstrained motion of all* England: *what reason is there, that one Party should thrust the other*

out

out of its due place of rest; upon the common Foundation?

No reason in the world. *The Law is our common resting place:* the main *Foundation* upon which we are all to Bottom. The Law is an impartial Judge; let That determine which place belongs to *Bishops*, which to *Presbyters*; what *Ceremonies* are *Lawful*, and which not. *Observation*

This is a *short* and a *sure* way, worth *forty* of his *Coalition.*

Having *pressed union* hitherto, *he proceeds now to remove certain impediments; One* whereof *is an erroneous judgement touching the times foregoing the last Wars.* Page 25.

In truth 'tis pity the people are no better Instructed. Then let them know from me, those very Principles these folks contend for, were brought by *Knox* about 1558. from *Geneva* into *Scotland*, from thence they were transmitted into *England*, since which time, the Abettors of them in both Nations, have never ceased by *Leagues, Tumults, Rebellions*, and *Usurpations* to embroil the publick Peace, and affront the Supreme Authority. *Observation*

They have formally proceeded to the *Deposing of Princes*, the exercise of an absolute Authority over the *Subject*: the *abrogation* of *Laws*, the *Imposition* of *Taxes*; and, in fine, to all extremities of Rigour, as well in matters of *Civil Liberty*, as of *Conscience*. He that desires a *Presbytery*, let him but read *Presbyter* for *King*, in the

first Book of *Samuel*, and the eighth Chapter, and he shall there find what he is reasonably to expect. These were the pranks foregoing the late Wars; and such as these will be again, if people be not the wiser.

But our Camerade will be none of the Party sure: For, *I abhor* (says he) *to take upon me the defence of our late distracted times: the distempers thereof I would not in any wise palliate.*]

Page 74.

Is the wind in that door? Now do I feel by his Pulse, that *Grotius* is laid by the heels. He hath forgot, that the *War was between the King, and both Houses of Parliament.*] And that *the Presbyterian Party in* England *never engaged under a less Authority than that of both Houses of Parliament.*] And that *Presbyterians have never disclaimed nor abandon'd their lawful Prince.*] It may be he means, that he will not justifie the Distempers of the *other* side. But why do we contest? since he tels us, that ——

Interest of England. Part 1. Page 13.

Part 1. Page 49. Ibid. 53.

Page 75.

It is the part of weak and selfish minds to contract Religion to certain modes and forms which stand not by divine Right, but by the wills of men, and which are of little efficacy, and very disputable, and if supposed lawful, ought to be governed by the Rule of Charity.

Observation. I would fain know which is more tolerable; for the *Church* to impose upon the *People*, or the *People* upon the *Church*? For the *People* on the one side to *exempt all*, or for the *Church* on the other side to *bind* all

Order

Order it *self* is of Divine Appointment; but the *manner* of ordering (save where God himself hath pre-imposed) is left to Humane liking and discretion. *To think* (says he) *that none is a good Christian, a sound Protestant, a fit Minister, that cannot subscribe to such Modes and Forms, proceeds from a narrow and ignoble Judgement.* Page 15.

He may be a fit Teacher for *Geneva*, that cannot subscribe to the Form of *England*; and a fit Minister for *England*, that cannot conform to the practice of *Geneva*: they may be both *good Christians* too, and *sound Protestants*; yet neither of them fit in transposition. 'Tis one thing to be qualifi'd for the Ministerial *Function*, and another thing to be fit for such or such a *Constitution*. 'Tis true, he *Officiates* as a *Minister*: but *how*,——or *so*,——as a *Subject*, and that's the real ground of their exception. They do not willingly admit the Kings Authority in matters of the Church: and this, which effectually is but their own Ambition, they obtrude upon the world, as a high point of tenderness to the people. There are beyond all doubt weak Consciences, fit Objects for Indulgence: but the less pardonable are their Mis-leaders, whose business 'tis for their own ends to engage the simple multitude in painful and inextricable scruples. Observation

Let them preach down-right Treason, stir up the Rabble to Tumult and Sedition; if they chance to be caught and question'd for it, see with what softness they treat their Fellows, and with what supercilious gravity their Superiours.

When

Page 78. *When some degree of forwardness breaks forth, it is encountered with that severity, which hazards the undoing of the weak part, that should and might be healed.* And again, to the same effect, (concerning *Crefsens* Commitment, I imagine) [*But suppose that some of this way were guilty of some provoking forwardness, should grave Patriots and wise Counsellors thereupon destroy the weak part, or rather heal it? A prudent Father is not so provoked by the stubbornness of a Childe, as to cast him out, and make him desperate while there is yet hope concerning him. It is meet indeed for Princes to express their just indignation, when Subjects presuming on their Clemency, do not contain themselves within their duty; and the seasonable expression of such disdain, wisely managed is of great force in Government: nevertheless if it get the master, it is exceeding perilous. It was the Counsel of Indignation that proceeded from* Roboboam's *young Counsellors.*] What this Language deserves both from the King and his Council, let those that have Authority to punish, judge.

Page 83. *When Governours resent the non-compliances of a Party, their best remedy is to remove the occasions, when it may be done without crossing the interests of State, or Maximes of Government.*

Observation That is, if the *People* will not yeild to the *Prince*, the *Prince* should do well to yeild to the *People*. A most excellent way for a King that hath to do with *Presbyterians*: where he shall be sure never to want subject for his Humility, nor ever to get thanks for his Labour.

Where

where there are many sufferers upon erroneous Page 84.
accounts, whether in truth or pretence, there will be
alwaies of glory in suffering; and sooner or later
it may turn to the Rulers detriment.

There will not be many *Sufferers*, where there Observation
are not many *Offenders*; and there will not be
many *Offenders*, where an early severity is used.
But however, if any hazard be; he that *prints* it,
dictates, *encourages* and *promotes* it, and deserves
to suffer with the foremost. But the Gentleman
begins now to talk like a Christian. *I detest* (says Page 98.
he) *and abhor the Tumults and Insurrections of*
the people, and the resisting of the Soveraign power.]

This is honestly said yet: But hold a little. Observation
What is that *Soveraign Power*, which he abhors Interest of
should be resisted by the *Tumults of the People?* England,
Even the *Two Houses in co-ordination with the* Page 49.
King. A little further: [*I am perswaded* (says Ibid. 98.
he) *that the Generality of the Presbyterian denomination would endure extremities, before they would revenge or defend themselves by unlawful means, as rebelling against their lawful Soveraign.*]

This we shall understand too by confronting Observation
it, and finde it onely the old Fallacy, a little bet-
ter colour'd.

This part (says he) *of the Supreme Power* (mean- Page 49.
ning the two Houses) *is indeed capable of doing* Interest of
wrong; but how it might be guilty of Rebellion, England.
is more difficult to conceive.]

Now

Now if the two Houses cannot *Rebel*, as being part of the Supreme power, (by his Argument) neither can the Presbyterians, in compliance with that Party: So that by this mis-placing of the Supreme Authority, whatever hath been acted by vertue of any Commission from the Two Houses, may be done over again, and no Rebellion.

By this advice, he onely disavows Rebellion so far as This, or That, is not Rebellion according to his Proposition, although the Law determine otherwise. This is no more then what was ever maintained, even by those that stood themselves upon the highest terms of Disobedience. Did ever any man say, *This is Rebellion, and I'll justifie it?* Nay, I should be glad to hear any of them say, *This was Rebellion, and I'm sorry for it.* [*But it is evident, that the Presbyterians love the King and Kingly Government, and account themselves happy in his Majesties Clemency, allowing them a just and inoffensible Liberty in certain matters of Conscience.*] Page 101.

Observation The Presbyterians may finde many things to thank his Majesty for: but I would they could hit upon a handsomer manner of doing it; and not perpetually to be craving *more*, when they should be doing him service for what they have receiv'd *already*. They love the King, they say, but then their Love is Conditional, they must have something for it.

Would they expose themselves for twenty years together, to *Gaols* and *Gibbets*, all sorts of Ha-

Hazards and *Miſ-fortunes* for their Prince, and at the laſt ſit down and ſterve contentedly, out of a ſenſe of honourable Loyalty?

That Subject is not right, who hath not brought his minde up to this Frame; however unhappy he may think himſelf in ſuch encounters as put him to the Trial of his utmoſt Vertue.

Wiſe men inform us, that a Prince by adhering to one Faction, may in time lift it up above his own Imperial Intereſt, which will be forced to give way to it, as the leſſer to the greater. And the prime Leaders of the potent Faction, will ſoon more than the Prince himſelf. They will become arrogant, unthankful and boundleſs in their ambitious deſigns. Page 104.

This is a good Rule, but ill apply'd; unleſs return'd upon himſelf. I hope he will not call *That* Party a *Faction*, which ſubmits all its Actions to the cleer Letter of the Law; and he will hardly prove *That* to be *none*, which croſſes *This*. If ſo, let Common Reaſon judge betwixt us. Obſervation

There is a ſaying, which by many hath been taken up for a Proverb, No Biſhop, no King. I do not well underſtand the riſe of this ſaying, and therefore dare not ſpeak in derogation of their Judgements who were the Authors of it. But upon the matter it ſelf, I crave to make this modeſt Animadverſion. And firſt, it is ſome degrading to the tranſcendent Intereſt of Sovereignty, to affix unto it a neceſſity of any one particular intereſt for its ſupport: for Independency and Self-ſubſiſtence, without leaning upon any Party, is a Prince his ſtrength and glory. Page 106.

Alſo

Also it makes that Party over-confident, and its opposite too dependent. Such sayings as import a Princes necessary dependence on any particular Party, may in the mouthes of Subjects be too presumptuous, and in the mouth of a Prince too unmanly.

Observation If we are not yet instructed in the Weight and Reason of that saying, — *NO BISHOP, NO KING*, sure we are past learning any thing. We found the sad truth of this Judgement in the Event of the late War; but that's no Rule. By *No Bishop, no King*, is not intended that Bishops are the propt of Royalty, nor do the Episcopalians understand it so; but that both one and the other are Objects of the same Fury, onely the Church goes first: so that without *presumption* a *Subject* may *assume* it; and without loss of *Honour*, a *Prince* may *grant* it.

I might draw Arguments from the Agreement of their *Original*, the likeness of their *Constitution*, the Principles by which they are *supported*, and that they lie exposed to the same Enemies, and the same method of Destruction. But this would seem to imply a more inseverable Interest then I aim at, and raise the Clergy above the proper State and Orb of Subjects. My meaning is more clear and open.

All Popular Factions take the *Church* in their way to the *State*; and I am to seek where-ever any Prince quitted *Episcopacy*, and saved *Himself*; That is, his *Royal Dignity*; for the empty name of *King*, is but the *Carkass* of Majesty. It is with the unruly Populacy, as it is with raging Tides; they press where the Bank is weakest, and

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in an instant over-run all. If they had either Modesty or Conscience, they would not force so far: if they have neither, will they stoop There? What did the late King Grant? or rather, what Deny? till by their mean Abuse of his unlimited Concessions, he lost his Crown and Life? Yet what assurance Words could give him, he wanted not: Words wrapt up in the most tender and Religious Forms imaginable. But what are Words where a Crown lies at stake?

In fine: *Treason's a Canker; and where it seizes, that Prince must early cut off the infected part, if he would save the sound.*

The true Church lies in the middle between two extreams, Formalists and Fanaticks; They are of circumspect and regular walking, no way forward in attempting or desiring alterations in a Civil State. A Prince doth hold them in obedience under a double bond. For they know they must needs be subject, not onely for wrath, but for conscience sake. Indeed we will not conceal, that in lawful ways they assert that Liberty which is setled by the known Laws and Fundamental Constitutions, the maintaining whereof is the Prince's as much as the Peoples safety. Page 116.

If to be no way Forward in promoting Changes in the Civil State, be a mark of the Church, the Presbyterians are out of the pale. It's truth, they are, it seems, Assertors of *Lawful Liberty*, in *Lawful Ways*; but how is that, I pray'e? Did they not tell us this when their Swords were at our Throats, when it was death *Observation*

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to assist the King, when they were forc'd to flee to the Equitable sense of the Law, and quit the Literal, and fetch their Arguments from Inspiration, because they had none in Reason?

I shall here put an end to this Discourse, which is much longer already then I meant it, by reason of his Addition. *Croftow's* ill Fortune I find hath made my Friend *wary*; but not *humble*; for he presses the same Things in substance still, though in somewhat a differing manner of Respect, and seeming Candour. The good Words he gives, belong to those persons which he shall vouchsafe to call *serious*, and to think worthy of them; and the Government is to be moulded, and disposed of as he pleases.

Finally he pretends to aim at a Fair and Christian Accord, and yet proceeds in a direct method of Dividing, by sharp and scandalous Reflections upon the Kings Party.

To say no more, his Reasonings are *Dishonourable* to the memory of the *Late* King; *Seditious* and *Provoking* to the *People*; *Bold*, and *Imposing* in *themselves*; *Repugnant* to the established *Law*, and to the main scope of the *General Pardon*.

How out of all these ill Ingredients should be composed a National and healing balsome, I shall now give the Reader leisure to consider.

Male imperatur, ubi regit Vulgus Duces.

F I N I S.